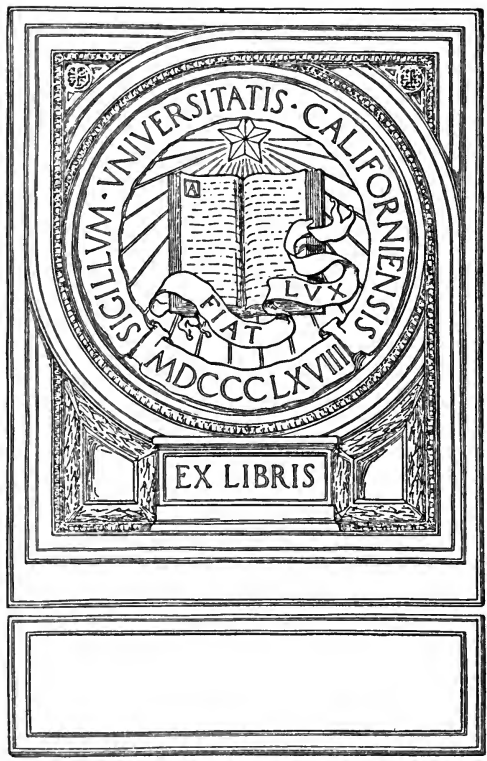




6 pamphlets  
on Fifty Years.

vol



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A  
R E V I E W  
OF THE CONDUCT OF  
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS  
THE  
PRINCE OF WALES  
IN HIS VARIOUS TRANSACTIONS WITH  
MR. JEFFERYS,  
DURING A PERIOD OF MORE THAN TWENTY YEARS,  
CONTAINING  
A DETAIL OF MANY CIRCUMSTANCES  
RELATIVE TO  
THEIR ROYAL HIGHNESSES  
THE PRINCE AND PRINCESS OF WALES,  
MRS. FITZHERBERT, &c. &c. &c.

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By NATHANIEL JEFFERYS,  
*Late M. P. for the City of Coventry.*

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REPORT OF THE  
COMMISSIONER OF THE  
BUREAU OF LANDS  
TO THE  
UNITED STATES SENATE  
AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
IN RESPONSE TO A RESOLUTION  
PASSED BY THE SENATE  
MAY 1, 1890, AND BY THE HOUSE  
OF REPRESENTATIVES  
JUNE 1, 1890

THE LANDS BELONGING TO THE  
UNITED STATES  
AND THE  
LANDS BELONGING TO THE  
SEVERAL STATES AND TERRITORIES  
AND THE  
LANDS BELONGING TO THE  
INDIAN TRIBES

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# DEDICATION

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE

**THOMAS LORD ERSKINE,**

LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR OF ENGLAND.

---

MY LORD,

IN admiration of your splendid talents, and in grateful remembrance of your zealous and spirited exertion of those talents in support of my claim, before Lord Kenyon, for jewels sold to the Prince of Wales; as well as for the honorable testimony you have borne to my character in the letter which you did me the favor to write upon the occasion, I presume to dedicate to your Lordship, the declared Assertor of the RIGHTS OF JURIES, this Appeal, which with pain I am compelled to make to the public.

In this cause, My Lord, in which I had the honor and advantage of your able assistance as an advocate, it is well known that I obtained every satisfaction necessary to my character, as well as a verdict in my favor:—the sum awarded by the VERDICT OF THE JURY WAS NOT PAID, AND I WAS RUINED.

Such a case, My Lord, is without a parallel; and I sincerely hope, for the honor of the country and the security of the people, it will ever remain so.

Your Lordship has, I am informed, since your elevation to the peerage, in the place of your family motto, substituted the words — “ *Trial by Jury* ;” — to which I cannot help wishing you had added, — “ AND VERDICTS PAID AS AWARDED.”

I have the honor to be,

MY LORD,

Your Lordship's obedient Servant,

N. JEFFERYS.

June 5, 1806.

## *INTRODUCTION.*

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MR. JEFFERYS presumes that, in the opinion of a candid and liberal Public, upon the perusal of the following Statement, he will be fully acquitted of having acted hastily, or without a sufficient provocation in the injuries he has sustained, to justify the measure he has taken of thus publicly appealing to the world.

# THE HISTORY OF THE CITY OF BOSTON

FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENT TO THE PRESENT TIME

BY SAMUEL JOHNSON, ESQ.

THE CITY OF BOSTON, IN THE YEAR 1630, WAS FIRST SETTLED BY A COMPANY OF PURITANS, WHO HAD BEEN DRIVEN FROM THEIR HOMES IN ENGLAND BY PERSECUTION. THEY WERE LEADED BY JOHN WINSTON, A MAN OF GREAT PIETY AND ABILITY. THE CITY WAS AT FIRST CALLED "NEW ENGLAND," BUT WAS SOON AFTER RE-NAMED "BOSTON," IN HONOR OF A FRIEND OF THE PURITANS. THE CITY WAS AT FIRST A SMALL VILLAGE, BUT GROWED RAPIDLY INTO A GREAT CITY. IT WAS THE FIRST CITY IN AMERICA TO HAVE A UNIVERSITY, AND THE FIRST CITY TO HAVE A FREE SCHOOL. IT WAS ALSO THE FIRST CITY TO HAVE A HOSPITAL, AND THE FIRST CITY TO HAVE A PRISON. THE CITY WAS AT FIRST A SMALL VILLAGE, BUT GROWED RAPIDLY INTO A GREAT CITY. IT WAS THE FIRST CITY IN AMERICA TO HAVE A UNIVERSITY, AND THE FIRST CITY TO HAVE A FREE SCHOOL. IT WAS ALSO THE FIRST CITY TO HAVE A HOSPITAL, AND THE FIRST CITY TO HAVE A PRISON.

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## A REVIEW, &c.

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THE Task which necessity (arising from oppression) has imposed upon me is not difficult, supported as I am by the justice of my cause, and confident in the liberal feelings of the Public, upon a case of such peculiar hardship as perhaps never before engaged their attention.

Though not a difficult task, it is nevertheless a very painful duty, to be compelled as I now am, in defence of my character, which has been most severely reflected upon, (and nothing less than such a feeling could lead to such an act,) to bring forward, in no very amiable point of view, the conduct of a Personage so exalted in rank as His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

In the year One Thousand Seven Hundred and Eighty-three, I commenced the business of a Jeweller and Goldsmith, in Piccadilly ; and in a very few days from my first beginning, I was sent for to attend the Prince of Wales at Buckingham-House.

His Royal Highness received me with great kindness of manners, and so completely captivated me by his condescension, that, young and credulous as I then was, I imagined my fortune made by his smile.

Mr. Gray, an eminent jeweller, and very respectable character, who now lives in Sackville-street, was at that time principally employed by the Prince of Wales ; and, though I occasionally received His Royal Highness's orders, it was not till the year One Thousand Seven Hundred and Eighty-eight or nine, that my concerns with the Prince of Wales assumed that depth of enterprize, which afterwards led to such destructive consequences,

About the period to which I allude, the Prince of Wales (upon Mr. Gray requiring a settle-



ment of the great demands he had upon His Royal Highness) was so much displeased at that circumstance, as to cease giving him farther employment. His Royal Highness then sent for me to Carlton-House, and conferred upon me (most unfortunately) the favor which he had withdrawn from Mr. Gray. From this time, not a day passed for several years, in which, neglecting my general business, I did not spend half my time at Carlton-House; and in which some entry was not made in my books of large amount for goods sold to His Royal Highness.

If ever I was disposed to pause and reflect upon the consequences which might ensue, and which were continually pointed out to me by friends more prudent than myself, I was instantly diverted from the benefit of such reflections, by the constant and encouraging approbation of the Prince of Wales, for the zeal and diligence with which, without the smallest hesitation, I executed, regardless of the amount, every order which I received from His Royal Highness.

Whatever feelings of the most devoted attachments I had hitherto entertained for the Prince

of Wales, a circumstance occurred, the particulars of which I am now about to relate, and which sealed and confirmed all my ideas as to the perfect confidence which might be placed in the assurances of His Royal Highness as to the future protection of me and my family, should (which I then little thought would be the case) any misfortunes overtake me, and make a resort to such protection necessary.

Though the circumstance on which I placed this strong hope of security has since, I firmly believe, been the cause of many of the misfortunes I have suffered, and I may be charged with great want of foresight to form such conclusions as I then did,—I will venture to say, that, under similar circumstances, many who condemn me would (deluded and misled as I then was) have acted a similar part.

On the Twenty-eighth day of January, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Ninety, the Prince of Wales sent for me to Carlton-House, at a much earlier hour in the morning than he was accustomed to do ; and, taking me into an inner apartment, with very visible marks of agitation

in his countenance and manner, said, he had a great favor to ask of me, which if I could accomplish would be doing him the greatest service, and he should ever consider it accordingly. I replied, that I feared what His Royal Highness might consider a great favor done towards him must be more than my limited means could accomplish; but that in all I could do I was entirely at his service, and I requested His Royal Highness to name his commands.

His Royal Highness then proceeded to state, that a creditor of Mrs. Fitzherbert had made a very peremptory demand for the payment of about Sixteen Hundred Pounds; that Mr. Weltje' had been sent by His Royal Highness to the creditor making such demand, to desire it might be placed to the Prince's account; this was refused to be done, on the ground that Mrs. Fitzherbert, being a woman of no rank or consideration in the eye of the law, as to personal privilege, was amenable to an immediate process, which was not the case with His Royal Highness. This the Prince stated to have caused in his mind the greatest uneasiness, for fear of the consequences that might ensue; as it was not in the power of His Royal

Highness to pay the money then, or to name an earlier period for so doing than three or four months. The request therefore which His Royal Highness had to make to me was, that I would interfere upon the occasion, and prevent if possible, any personal inconvenience to Mrs. Fitzherbert, which would be attended with extreme mortification to the feelings of His Royal Highness.

I assured His Royal Highness that I would do all I could in the business; and I appointed to attend, with the result of my endeavors, at Carlton-House the next morning. I did attend as appointed, and presented the Prince of Wales with a receipt for the whole sum,—fifteen hundred and eighty-five pounds, eleven shillings, and seven pence, which I had that morning paid, being the only effectual means of pacifying the creditor, and removing from the mind of His Royal Highness the anxiety he appeared so strongly to labor under.

His Royal Highness was unbounded in his expressions of satisfaction at what I had accomplished, and in his assurances of future support,

so strongly made and so frequently repeated, as well as accompanied with such *apparent* marks of sincerity, as to have fixed my faith, (even had it been wavering,) in the entire confidence I might place in all he said.

But what will the world think or say, when they are informed, which they now are, that I have (in ten long years of the most bitter adversity, occasioned by a continuation of similar confidence) repeatedly applied, in vain, to His Royal Highness for relief, even in any degree to which he might have been induced to afford it me, but he has ever been deaf to my entreaties.

The moment misfortune overtook me, the Prince of Wales totally deserted me!

Looking back, with painful remembrance, to what I felt then, and to what I have since experienced, I may well exclaim,

“ ————— There’s no art

“ To find the mind’s construction in the face ;

“ He was a Gentleman on whom I built

“ An absolute trust.”

In the afternoon of the same day, the Prince of Wales came to my house, and brought with him Mrs. Fitzherbert, for the express purpose, as his Royal Highness said, that she might herself thank me for the great and essential service I had that morning rendered her. His Royal Highness repeated the same expressions of satisfaction, and assurances of support, which he had so abundantly made use of in the former part of the day.

I appeal to General Hulse, a gentleman of known integrity and honor, for the truth of all I have stated, as having passed at Carlton-House in the morning. General Hulse received His Royal Highness's directions to repay, at the end of three months, the money I had advanced, which was punctually done; though I am of opinion that the repayment of the money will not be considered by the world as discharging the obligation, however it might do the debt.

As to what passed at my house when His Royal Highness came there with Mrs. Fitzherbert, a person, still in my service, was present, and to whom I remarked, immediately as the

Prince and Mrs. Fitzherbert had quitted it, that if ever I should have the misfortune to lose the Prince's favor, I should have cause to lament the day when Mrs. Fitzherbert was under the necessity of thanking me for a service performed to her;—an observation I was induced to make, from the mortified pride visible in the countenance of that lady.

I should not have laid so great a stress upon the assistance afforded to the Prince of Wales, in thus extricating Mrs. Fitzherbert from the situation that caused so much uneasiness to her and His Royal Highness, but from the peculiar circumstances attending it. Was it possible to feel otherwise than highly gratified at the satisfaction so amply expressed by the Prince of Wales, as well as at the unbounded promises of future support, which His Royal Highness made upon the occasion?

The assurances of His Royal Highness, by which I was encouraged upon all former occasions, were merely in consequence of my general attention; but, in the case just related, an opportunity had occurred to lay the Prince of Wales, the

*Heir Apparent to the Throne*, under an obligation, not by an officious forward act of civility on my part, but in consequence of a request, most particularly urged, that I should do what was termed a very great favor by His Royal Highness. He called it a great obligation; and, most liberally promising to reward it, afforded me, as I imagined, a firmer ground than ever to rely upon his support, in the event of those misfortunes which I had not then in contemplation, but which my friends were continually pointing out to me as the most probable result of my blind and determined confidence. I thought, at any rate, I might rely upon His Royal Highness never refusing me his assistance (should I ask it) to the extent at least in which I had accommodated him; but the event has proved how deceived I was in my calculation. An application has been made to His Royal Highness through the Earl of Moira, in a moment of serious illness, most earnestly requesting a relief to the extent alluded to; which application, though made under such distressing circumstances, was never honored with an answer.—The Prince of Wales has even for ten years disregarded all applications made to him for assist-



ance ; and that which I did at his most earnest request, and upon which I was induced to place so great a reliance, has never been permitted (as it would appear by the event) to occupy even a thought, beyond the accomplishment of the object.

Can it be said, that I have not been most cruelly and ungenerously treated ? Can it be urged, against me, that I complain without cause ?

The only return made by Mrs. Fitzherbert (for what was also acknowledged by her as a great obligation) was the purchase at different times of goods, in which I dealt, to the amount in the whole of One Hundred and Twenty Pounds. No offer was ever made by her to settle this account, though owing for a very considerable length of time ; and, from the intimacy subsisting between the Prince of Wales and Mrs. Fitzherbert, I was unwilling, by asking for the payment of this account, to risk the displeasure of His Royal Highness ; having experienced what His Royal Highness's feelings

were towards the creditor who had applied to Mrs. Fitzherbert for the payment of the debt, which it is before stated I had discharged.

An event was now about to take place of great national importance in the establishment of the Prince of Wales, the intelligence of which afforded very general satisfaction to the public ; it was the proposed marriage of His Royal Highness with the Princess of Brunswick, and his expected *final* separation from Mrs. Fitzherbert.

At that period, I passed much of my time at Carlton-House ; and, though I may provoke the anger of the Prince of Wales, and the displeasure of Mrs. Fitzherbert, I will state that, which, from my being so much with His Royal Highness, I had an opportunity of observing and knowing.

I declare it as my firm belief, however subsequent events, which may truly be termed unfortunate for His Royal Highness and for the country, may contradict the probability of my assertion, that no person in the Kingdom ap-

peared to feel, and I believe at the time did feel, more sincere pleasure in the prospect of the proposed marriage and the separation from Mrs. Fitzherbert than His Royal Highness. I will not repeat the expressions of His Royal Highness upon this subject, it is sufficient to say, that what I heard was not of a nature to increase the respect I had for the character of that lady; but so far otherwise as to remove from my mind every apprehension I had entertained, that His Royal Highness would be displeased by an application to her for money; I accordingly sent in my account; when I was told, I must apply to the Prince for the payment of it. I therefore informed His Royal Highness of what had passed, who directed General Hulse to discharge the account.

But to return to my narrative.—On the marriage of the Prince of Wales, His Royal Highness gave me orders to procure the jewels necessary on the occasion: no limit was fixed for the amount, but that the finest and best of every thing was to be procured. My wish was,

in the execution of these orders, not to go to too great an expense ; but the magnitude of the occasion, and the orders, in pursuance of which I acted, exceeding my own ideas, the amount naturally extended to a very considerable sum,—fifty-four thousand pounds; and nearly ten thousand pounds, in addition, for jewels as presents from His Royal Highness, on the marriage, to the Queen and Princesses.

It having been said at the time, that I had gone (contrary to what I have above asserted) to greater expense than was necessary, I beg leave, in contradiction of such report, merely to state the following circumstance :—I had, by the desire of the Prince of Wales, procured a setting for the miniature-picture of his Royal Highness, intended to be sent to Brunswick for the Princess, surrounded with large brilliants, and a brilliant chain, amounting to two thousand five hundred guineas. As soon as it was completed, I attended, with His Royal Highness, at Buckingham-House, to submit it to the approbation of the Queen, previously to its being sent to the Continent. Her Majesty

thought it by no means of sufficient value for the occasion, and I accordingly prepared another, pursuant to the orders I then received, amounting to more than four thousand pounds.

Could it for a moment be supposed (without an insult to the high and august character of Her Majesty) that any hazard would attend the execution of orders from such authority.— I entertained no doubts upon the subject, but acted as I was commanded to do.

A considerable time after the jewels had been delivered, the amount of my charge was disputed by the commissioners appointed to settle the Prince's affairs. I resisted the great deduction they proposed to make, and went to the verdict of a jury, before Lord Kenyon, in February, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Ninety-Six. The cause tried was, for the jewels furnished for the Princess, amounting, as I have before said, to the sum of fifty-four thousand pounds, when I obtained a verdict for the whole of my demand, deducting so much as was charged for the necessary insurance of the

Prince's life, that risk being stated by the judge from the bench, in his charge to the jury, as being at an end. With this decision I was naturally satisfied, accompanied, as it was, by the observation of Lord Kenyon, that all hazard was ended.

In addition to the sum for which the verdict had been obtained, there were demands of nearly ten thousand pounds, for the jewels furnished as presents to the Royal Family, and bond-debts of His Royal Highness, for goods previously sold, amounting to twenty-four thousand pounds. For the two last-named sums, the Commissioners, who were the nominal defendants in the former action, suffered me to take verdicts ; consequently, the whole of my demand was sanctioned by a jury, except the deduction above stated.

I had also the additional satisfaction to receive from the present Lord Chancellor the following letter, in answer to one I had written, thanking him for his exertions upon the trial :

*Serjants-Inn, Feb. 19, 1796.*

SIR,

I return you many thanks for your very obliging Letter.—I spoke to the jury my own sentiments, and I delivered them warmly, because I felt an extreme disgust at the evidence by which a JUST and HONORABLE CLAIM was attempted to be resisted.

If Counsel, upon proper occasions, do not shew that they are in earnest, not only private injustice may be successful, but the freedom of English courts may be lost.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

THO. ERSKINE.

*To Mr. Jefferys.*

Previous to going to trial, I considered it a mark of respect due to the Prince of Wales to state to His Royal Highness the necessity which existed of defending both my character and property, which were so deeply involved in the question ; and I expressed a hope that His Royal Highness would grant me permission to resist before a Jury the very large deductions proposed to be made by the Commissioners.

His Royal Highness said, he highly approved of my conduct in so doing, and addressing himself to the Earl of Cholmondely, (then Lord

Chamberlain to His Royal Highness) desired him to attend upon the trial, and to declare, if necessary, on the part of the Prince, his entire approbation as to the integrity of my conduct, in the whole of my concerns with His Royal Highness.

Lord Cholmondely attended accordingly, but the Counsel for the defendants (the commissioners) declined detaining him in Court, saying, they were satisfied upon the subject; and, when I had obtained the verdict, His Royal Highness congratulated me upon my success.—I had, therefore, every ground to be satisfied with my situation.—The Prince had approved of my resisting the proposed deductions of the commissioners, — the jury had awarded me a favorable verdict,—the present Lord Chancellor had, in the letter just stated, expressed his opinion of my claim,—and the Prince congratulated me on my success.—In addition to what I have mentioned, as affording ground to be satisfied with my reliance on the Prince, another circumstance occurred in an opportunity to oblige His Royal Highness, by a compliance with his earnest request, which it was very natural to suppose



would have strengthened my security in the mind and feelings of the Prince against the calamities I soon after experienced : but I had unfortunately yet to learn, that all such calculations were idle speculations.

Within a short time of the marriage of the Prince, His Royal Highness being alone with me, asked if I had any money to spare for a few days, I replied, that I had in my pocket Six Hundred and Thirty Pounds ; that it was destined for a particular purpose, or I should not have it about me ; but as it was only for a few days, any part of it was at his service. His Royal Highness took Four Hundred and Twenty Pounds ; and, thanking me in very warm terms, assured me of its return in ten days :—I refused to take any memorandum for the loan of this money, for the return of which I waited considerably more than a year. — I had now retired from business, but put myself in the way of the Prince as often as I could, in the hope of receiving this money, but no notice was ever taken of the debt, till my necessities (from the deductions made from the verdict which will be fully explained) becoming very pressing, I

was compelled to make an application, accompanied by circumstances which I will explain.

Having relinquished my business, I had not the opportunity of seeing the Prince as before ; my access to Carlton-House became difficult, and my reception was cold and distant, not as it used to be, which greatly alarmed me, as I saw the hour of calamity was fast approaching in my affairs, from the severe and sudden disappointment I experienced in not receiving the whole sum awarded by the verdict of the jury.

Through the medium of Mr. Tyrwhitt, then secretary to the Prince, I solicited an audience of His Royal Highness. I attended twice, each time by appointment, and waited many hours. At last, the Prince, coming into the room with several gentlemen, asked me, in a hasty tone of voice, what I wanted ? I was so agitated with the contemplation of my own situation, so confused by the mode in which His Royal Highness spoke to me, as scarcely to be able to make any answer. His Royal Highness then said,—“ I believe I owe you some money,—four hundred and twenty pounds ;—do you want it

*now?"*—I replied, when it suited His Royal Highness's convenience. The Prince said, *very well*, and left the room without another word.

Leaving Carlton-House in a very dejected state of mind, as may be supposed, I met, in Pall-Mall, the late Admiral Payne, who had been the confidential friend and secretary to the Prince, but who had been recently dismissed.—Admiral Payne asking me if I had been lately at Carlton-House, I related to him what had passed. He said, the conduct I experienced was most shameful, but that he could put me in the way of getting the money.

We then walked together for a considerable time in St. James's Square, when he told me, if I would write such a letter as he would dictate, I should get the money directly. I accordingly wrote the same day to the Prince, stating my hope, that His Royal Highness would excuse the application I made to him for the payment of the Four Hundred and Twenty Pounds, which I had advanced at his request nearly fifteen months before; that my necessities were very great in

consequence of the losses I had sustained in his service ; the consideration of which, with the recollection that the money had only been borrowed for a few days, would (I trusted) induce His Royal Highness not to leave town for New-market, where he was going the next morning, without first returning this money.—That I was prevented by delicacy to His Royal Highness, in the morning when I had been with him, from mentioning the circumstance, so many gentlemen being present.

The letter produced the effect expected by Admiral Payne, the money being sent to me that evening.—This application for money, I believe, produced such a degree of irritation in the mind of the Prince, as to do away all recollection of what for years he had termed services ; and was, I believe, considered by His Royal Highness, and is so still, to be such an offence as not to be forgiven.

Shortly after this, (in the Year One Thousand Seven Hundred and Ninety-Seven,) my affairs became so embarrassed as to deprive me of all

I possessed ; and, having the world to begin again, I naturally turned my thoughts to my original business of a Jeweller and Goldsmith, in the hope that I might preserve many of my original connections : and not doubting that the Prince of Wales would contribute to restore my broken fortunes, I wrote the following letter to His Royal Highness :—

*October 25, 1799.*

SIR,

I sometime since took the liberty to make known to your Royal Highness my intention (in consequence of the severe misfortunes I have experienced) to resume my original business of a Goldsmith and Jeweller ; I now beg to inform your Royal Highness of my having taken for that purpose the house of Mr. Lockhart, No. 34, in Pall Mall ; in which undertaking I flatter myself I may hope to enjoy your Royal Highness's favor and protection.

Conscious of never having done any thing to forfeit the high opinion your Royal Highness has frequently expressed yourself to entertain of the integrity of my conduct, I have every ground to hope, from your liberality, benevolence, and justice, that (upon a consideration of all the circumstances of my unhappy case) your Royal Highness's decision will be favorable to my application.

I have the honor to be, &c. &c.

NATH. JEFFERYS.

But in this, as in every other calculation, formed on an idea that an appeal might be made with success to the feelings of His Royal Highness, I was completely disappointed.

Under the disadvantageous circumstances of a ruined credit, reduced property, and the friends on whom I had formerly depended having attached themselves to other houses in the same line of business, as also the total abandonment of my interest by the Prince of Wales, I carried on the business in which I had re-engaged under circumstances of extreme difficulty; and, conceiving this difficulty to arise, in a great degree, from the prejudice so strongly excited against me in the daily charge made in conversation, and by other means, that my unfortunate situation had not in any degree been caused by the reduction made from the verdict of the Jury, which the public naturally supposed I must have received, I found it necessary to publish the following statement and letter:—

Statement of the accounts of Mr. JEFFERYS, in the affairs of His Royal Highness the PRINCE OF WALES: shewing the amount of the claims of Mr. JEFFERYS, as established by the verdict of a jury before Lord Kenyon, and those admitted by the Commissioners for the management of the Prince's affairs; together with the deductions and deficiency of payment, from the mode adopted by the Commissioners\* for the settlement of the said claims.

Amount of verdict obtained in

the Court of King's Bench,	<i>Claims.</i>		<i>Net Receipts.</i>	
for jewels on the marriage of	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.
the Prince - - - - -	50,997	10 0		
Received of Lord Cholmondely,			25,000	0 0
A deduction was made on the balance, of ten per cent. and the amount paid in debentures, which sold on an average discount, at twenty per cent. loss, producing - -			18,718	4 0
Deficiency - - - - -			7,279	6 0
	50,997	10 0	50,997	10 0

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\* The Right Honorable William Pitt, Chancellor of the Exchequer; the Right Honorable Henry Addington, Speaker of the House of Commons; Henry Strachey, Esq. M. P. Master of the King's Household; John Fordyce, Esq. M. P. Surveyor of the Crown Lands; and Mr. Serjeant Walker, Accomptant-General; Commissioners named in the Act for the Settlement of the affairs of the Prince of Wales.

Bond-debts, for which (being admitted by the Commis- sioners) a verdict was taken,	24,700	0	0
Ten per cent. deducted, and the balance paid in deben- tures, which at an average loss of twenty per cent. pro- duced - - - - -		17,784	0 0
Deficiency - - - - -		6,916	0 0
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	24,700	0	0
		24,700	0 0

An account, including presents of jewels made by the Prince, on his marriage, to the Queen and the Royal Family - - - - -	9,331	9	6
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This account, also admitted by the Commissioners; and, a verdict being taken, was settled by a deduction of ten per cent. and the ba- lance in debentures, at twenty per cent. discount, pro- duced - - - - -	6,718 14 0
Deficiency - - - - -	2,612 15 6
<hr/>	<hr/>
9,331 9 6	9,331 9 6

	£.	s.	d.
Total amount of claims - -	85,028	19	6
Ditto of net receipts - - -	68,220	18	0
Total deficiency - -	<u>16,808</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>6</u>



The amount of the account delivered to the Commissioners, in May 1795, for the jewels for the Princess of Wales on her marriage, was Fifty-four Thousand Six Hundred and Eighty-five Pounds; and a proposal being made by the Commissioners, that I should deduct, as nearly as I can recollect, Fourteen Thousand Pounds, I asked if there was any appeal against the decisions of the Commissioners; to which Mr. Pitt, who was present, replied, that the Act of Parliament provided redress by an appeal to a Jury; to such a decision I determined to submit my claim, and, in February, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Ninety-six, obtained a verdict for the sum mentioned in the annexed account.

Not a word was said during the trial, by the Counsel for the Commissioners, of any intended deduction from the verdict; nor was any intimation made to me on the subject, till the time appointed to receive the amount (as I supposed) of the sum, to which the verdict of the Jury had given me *a legal claim*. It was then, to my astonishment, proposed to me,

that if I would consent to a deduction of ten per cent. the balance should be paid in debentures, bearing an interest of five per cent.; but, if I refused to make such a deduction, the debentures should bear only three per cent. As I had been induced to go into a Court of Justice by the assurance of the Commissioners, that an appeal to a Jury (if I chose to submit to it) would give me redress, and had in consequence of such appeal obtained a verdict, I desired time to consult my Counsel, Mr. Erskine and Mr. Adam, on so extraordinary and unexpected a proposal, which the Commissioners informed me, the Act of Parliament authorized. It being the opinion of Mr. Erskine and Mr. Adam, upon consulting the Act, that I had no alternative but to submit, I was compelled by the imperious necessity of my case, and the pressing demands, accompanied with threats, from my creditors, to consent (if an act under such circumstances can be called a consent) to my own ruin. The previous account is confined solely to the deficiency arising from the mode of payment, amounting to nearly Seventeen Thousand Pounds; and which, great as that amount is,

forms but a part of the loss I have sustained by this unfortunate business. I have proofs sufficient to make it clearly appear, that my loss (including the deficiency of the payment) arising from a variety of circumstances that attend a state of embarrassment and distress, such as I have experienced, amounts to a sum very considerably exceeding Thirty Thousand Pounds.

A variety of reports having been circulated to the disadvantage of my reputation, stating the misfortunes I have experienced to have been attributable solely to my own indiscretions; and that, having obtained a verdict, I had accordingly received (as the public imagine) the amount of my claims upon the Prince of Wales; I have thought it necessary, by the advice of my friends, to draw up the annexed statement, accompanied with a few observations, (merely explanatory,) for the purpose, not of conveying censure upon others, but to vindicate my own character; and an attentive perusal of the contents of this paper (which are strictly true) will, I presume, clearly point out the source

of the dreadful calamities that have been experienced by my family and myself, in the transactions alluded to.

NATH. JEFFERYS.

Pall-Mall.

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Copy of a letter to the Prince of Wales, including the preceding statement of Accounts, &c.

*Pall-Mall, June 25, 1801.*

SIR,

From the difficulties I have experienced for the last four years to provide for my family, arising from the mistaken idea of the public that my misfortunes did not originate from the cause I state, but my own improper conduct; and the sanction this idea has unfortunately received, from your Royal Highness totally withdrawing from me that patronage I had formerly the good fortune to enjoy, and which I am not conscious of ever having deserved to forfeit; I am most forcibly called upon to take some method publicly to vindicate my character in the opinion of the world, to whom I am ultimately to look for support.

I have drawn up the inclosed statement for that sole purpose; and your Royal Highness, I am confident, in the perusal of it, will not deny to me the credit of having carefully abstained from all reflections on any individual.

The cruelty of my situation has seldom, I believe, been experienced by any man: my fortune has been ruined, my character discredited, and my health broken with excessive anxiety. All this has been produced by placing an unlimited confidence in a quarter, where a doubt of its rectitude would have been insult.

The injury I individually complain of, Sir, is not confined to me, it extends to the public: a sacred principle of our Constitution, — the Verdict of a Jury, — has been rendered of no effect.

Influenced by the powerful calls of necessity, and urged by no principle of resentment to any person, in the mode I adopt to vindicate my character, I hope for your Royal Highness's forgiveness, if any thing I have said should hurt your feelings;—I assure your Royal Highness nothing is farther from my intention.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your Royal Highness's obedient Servant,

NATH. JEFFERYS.

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The publication of this statement was of the greatest service to me, as it opened the eyes of many, who had viewed my situation in the most unfriendly and hostile light, to acknowledge

their error with great kindness and commiseration.

Upon the mind of the Prince of Wales, this measure produced a very different effect. His Royal Highness was indignant at the impression that was attempted to be made upon the public mind, that a deficiency in the payment of his debts should have been brought forward as the cause of the embarrassment I felt ; and the letter which accompanies the statement, though intended to express towards His Royal Highness no sentiments but those of respect, was represented by those, who termed themselves the friends of the Prince of Wales, as highly offensive to the delicate feelings of His Royal Highness. Whether such a charge is justly founded or not, the public have an opportunity of judging.

The difficulties under which it must be evident I carried on the business I had resumed, added to a very reduced state of health, made it necessary for me in a short time totally to relinquish it ; and, being of course again without any direct object in view for the support of my family,

I once more addressed myself to His Royal Highness in the following letter :—

*January 4, 1803.*

SIR,

Extreme distress, which I trust will ever find an advocate in your Royal Highness, induces me to trouble you with this application; and nothing less than the wretchedness I now feel can justify my compliance with the wish of many of my friends, to obtrude myself on the notice of your Royal Highness.

I have endeavored, Sir, since the misfortunes I experienced in the year One Thousand Seven Hundred and Ninety-Six, (by an industrious application to business.) to procure the means of supporting my family, and of doing justice to my creditors; but, from my very destitute situation, in want both of capital and patronage, my endeavors have been exerted in vain.

I will not, Sir, advert to the causes whence all my distresses have originated, as affording me any claim on the bounty of your Royal Highness; but surely, Sir, when I call to my recollection the frequent expressions you have, with great condescension, used in approbation of my integrity, during the many years I had the honor to receive your commands, and the encouraging assurances you so frequently and kindly afforded me of the reliance which I might place on your support, your Royal Highness will not, I hope, think me censurable for looking towards you for re-

lief from my distress. If, Sir, you should be of opinion that, in any instance, I have expressed myself with too much warmth on the subject of my great losses, I beg of your Royal Highness to consider, not only what I have suffered, but that, like all men in misfortune, I have many enemies to misrepresent and traduce my conduct and character.

That I have not omitted such opportunities as my limited situation has afforded of shewing every respect I could to your Royal Highness, I beg to refer you to the part I took in the debate, in the House of Commons, on the subject of your Royal Highness's claims to the Cornish arrears. I also beg to call to your recollection, that, at the period preceding the general election, when my friends in Coventry desired me to bring down a colleague of my own nomination, I immediately offered to your Royal Highness to introduce any gentleman of your recommendation, and the event of the election has proved that the offer was not made without the means of procuring success.

I am induced, Sir, to mention these circumstances, to do away any prejudice that may exist in the mind of your Royal Highness, from the misrepresentation of my enemies, that I am not well affected to your person and interests.

Let me entreat your Royal Highness, in the consideration of my unfortunate situation, to do justice to your own judgement and feelings, and to the high opinion the public entertain of your sense of honor, justice, and humanity.



In that case, Sir, I am confident of your Royal Highness's assistance; and that my family and myself will no longer suffer the calamities we have experienced for the last six years.

That your Royal Highness may not impute my embarrassments to the expenses of the late election, I beg leave to say, the expense was defrayed by a subscription; and the same means are adopted to defend the petition against me.

I am, Sir,

Your Royal Highness's obedient Servant,

NATH. JEFFERYS.

For a considerable time, I never troubled the Prince of Wales with farther application, having most lamentably experienced how unavailing was my attempt to interest his feelings, or excite his liberality. I employed myself in procuring by my diligence, in the business in which I had engaged, (the sale of estates and property on commission,) the means of support for my family, and endeavoured to forget, as far I could, the Prince of Wales and Mrs. Fitzherbert, with their ungenerous treatment; but, from an absurd anecdote I am

going to mention, it appeared they were not so easily disposed to forget me.

A gentleman, well-known in the fashionable world, and who was in the habit of visiting the Prince of Wales, in return for some civilities which he was so good as to say I had shewn him, invited me, about four years since, to pass three or four days at his house at Brighton. I accepted the invitation, and in my way to the place I met the Prince of Wales on his road to London. After staying at Brighton, I believe, only two days, I returned to town, in company with the gentleman at whose house I had been, and on our road we met the Prince returning. I really should have hoped that so insignificant an individual as myself might have passed two or three days at Brighton without exciting any emotions in the mind of the Prince of Wales and Mrs. Fitzherbert,—but it was not so; for, on the return of my friend to Brighton, he was immediately waited upon by Colonel M'Mahon, who (from the Prince) desired to be informed as to the object of my coming to Brighton the day His Royal

Highness went to town, and leaving it the day His Royal Highness returned.—The gentleman was all astonishment at such a request; to which he replied, that the time of my coming to and leaving Brighton were purely accidental; and that the only object he knew of for my journey was to accept an invitation he had given me. Colonel M'Mahon pressing for a more satisfactory answer, my friend requested to know the cause of such extraordinary inquiries; to which he answered,—that a paragraph had appeared in a newspaper (The True Briton) just at that time, reflecting on Mrs. Fitzherbert, which caused great uneasiness to her and the Prince, and which I was suspected of writing. My friend said, he did not think I had done so, as I had never mentioned such a thing being in the Papers.

As soon as I received this information, I made it my business to search the Paper, when I found the paragraph, which I not only never wrote, but most probably should never have seen or heard of, but from the groundless charge of being the author of it.

My curiosity was much excited, as I suppose the readers will be, to know what this paragraph contained, which was represented as being so very offensive. — It contained some account, written in a ludicrous style, of the amusements and company at Brighton, with giving Mrs. Fitzherbert the appellation of GRANDMOTHER OF THE LOVES.

Unwilling as I have before said I was, to attempt any farther to induce the Prince of Wales to do any act of justice or liberality towards me; there was one point yet remaining, on which by the advice, and with the recommendation of some of His Royal Highness's friends, I was once more persuaded to apply to him, and upon the success of my application they expressed themselves with confidence.

It was relative to the important object of placing my only son in his first step in the world. I complied with their request, hoping that the injuries done to the parent by the Prince would be compensated for in the patronage of the son. I therefore wrote to His Royal Highness the following letter :—

44, *Pall-Mall*, Jan. 26, 1806.

SIR,

The importance to my family and myself of the subject, upon which I take the liberty to address your Royal Highness, will, I hope, apologize for the intrusion.

My only son is now in his eighteenth year; he has been for some time in the office of a solicitor of eminence, and he is now about to be articled; and the object I have long had in view is the hope that your Royal Highness would so far consider the sufferings I have experienced as to take my son under your protection in this first step of his life, by assisting me with the amount of the fee to be paid; which, with the duty to government, is four hundred guineas.

Your Royal Highness has had the goodness, very often formerly, to express your favorable opinion of me; and, upon an occasion of so much consequence to the future happiness of my son and to my own feelings, I cannot but entertain the most sanguine hope that your Royal Highness will comply with my request.

I have the honor to be,

With every feeling of duty and respect,

Your Royal Highness's

obliged and obedient Servant,

NATH. JEFFERYS.

This, though sanctioned by the recommendation I have mentioned, was like all the previous applications **TOTALLY DISREGARDED.**

## CHANGE IN THE ADMINISTRATION.

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Having always been given to understand by Lord Moira, and the friends of the Prince of Wales, that, whenever His Royal Highness had it in his power, I should without doubt, receive a compensation for the injuries I had suffered.— I very naturally looked upon the change of administration, and the admission to power of the party called the Prince's friends, as a favorable event to my interests ; and the more so, as I had acted in support of the New Administration (while in opposition) the several years in which I had a seat in the House of Commons.

I of course had reason to hope, that the years of adversity I had passed would be now succeeded by some provision to render the remainder of my life easy and tranquil.

I wrote accordingly to the Prince of Wales, the Earl of Moira, Lord Erskine, and Mr. Fox, the following letters :—

*Pall-Mall, March 12, 1801.*

SIR,

I beg to refer your Royal Highness to Mrs. Fitzherbert and to Gen. Hulse, for the truth of the following facts,

which, I presume, will be considered as affording a reasonable ground of claim upon the assistance of your Royal Highness, *now* that assistance is so amply in your power.

Several years since, your Royal Highness asked my interference, as a very great favor, to arrange the settlement of a debt of nearly sixteen hundred pounds, due from Mrs. Fitzherbert to a creditor, who had demanded the payment in a way so peremptory, as to cause great uneasiness. I requested your Royal Highness not to consider as a favor any thing which I could perform, for that I was entirely at your service. The next day I discharged the whole of the debt; and, upon that occasion, your Royal Highness expressed yourself as *most particularly obliged* to me, and declared repeatedly, in the presence of Gen. Hulse, that you *never could forget* my zeal and readiness to meet your wishes, and that I might *ever* rely upon your support and assistance. In the course of the same day, Sir, your Royal Highness came to my house, with Mrs. Fitzherbert, for the express purpose, as you said at the time, in the presence of a person now living with me, that Mrs. Fitzherbert, as well as your Royal Highness, might thank me for the useful service I had performed, and to assure me again, that I might *ever* rely on your Royal Highness's support and protection.

At another time, Sir, when Lady Jersey was at Carlton-House, I supplied your Royal Highness, at a *minute's notice*, with several hundred pounds, when I received from you a repetition of the same satisfaction at my conduct,

and similar assurances of future support. Since that time, Sir, during an adversity of nearly ten years, occasioned by farther unlimited confidence in your Royal Highness, I have never received the consolation of any assistance from you.

To ask your support, that myself and family may be preserved from farther adversity, upon the ground of the circumstances I have stated, cannot be considered as an unreasonable claim. I hope and trust your Royal Highness will decide, upon this occasion, in a manner gratifying to the public opinion, to your own exalted station, and to my urgent case.

I have the honor to be,

Your Royal Highness's obedient Servant,

NATH. JEFFERYS.

*His Royal Highness  
the Prince of Wales, &c. &c. &c.*

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44, Pall-Mall, March 12, 1806.

MY LORD,

As it is the first wish of my heart to pay my debts, I have looked, with anxious expectation, that some remuneration should be made to me, now the Prince has it in his power: and the more so from the repeated promises of His Royal Highness, that he would not omit the opportunity when it offered; as well as the assurances of your Lordship, in a letter now before me, that I might rely on the honor of the Prince, whom you mention to have frequently observed



to your Lordship, that I had been very ill used, and that are muneration ought to be made.

I have constantly, my Lord, in parliament, supported the present administration, while in opposition, in their most unpopular moments, and I hope they will not, now that they are in power, forsake me, because I can be no longer of any use to them.

I have the honor to be,

Your Lordship's obedient Servant,

NATH. JEFFERYS

*Right Hon. the Earl of Moira, &c. &c. &c.*

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44, Pall-Mall, March 12, 1806.

SIR,

From the friendly treatment I have ever experienced from you, I hope you will excuse my reminding you of my unfortunate situation, from the dreadful sacrifice that has been made of my property and reputation, by the oppressions of the late administration.

During the most unpopular periods of the present administration, (when in opposition,) I have always divided with them in parliament upon every question, except where instructions from my constituents demanded a different line of conduct.

After all the misfortunes I have experienced, from the oppressions of the late administration, it will be a hard case, indeed, if those with whom I acted in adversity should now that they are in power, entirely overlook me.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient and obliged Servant,

NATH. JEFFERYS.

*Right Hon. Charles James Fox, &c. &c.*

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44, Pall-Mall, March 18, 1806.

MY LORD,

The total neglect I have experienced from the Prince of Wales, for ten years, to every application I have made to him, during that period, as well as the present time, for a performance of the promise he has made to remunerate the private services I have done for him, and the distresses I have experienced, in consequence of my confidence in His Royal Highness, has induced me to prepare for immediate publication, a statement of all the facts on which I ground my claim to the Prince's assistance; and, as your Lordship's opinion of the integrity of my conduct, and the justice of my claim to the verdict of which I was deprived, is very handsomely expressed in your letter to me after the trial, I have very naturally availed myself of so honorable a testimony to my character, and accordingly inserted it in the statement to which I allude.

Convinced that your Lordship does not entertain, as Chancellor, different ideas of the justice of my case, to those you expressed as an Advocate, I presume no apology will be necessary for the use I make of the letter I allude to.

Should the Prince of Wales be of opinion that the public mode I adopt to vindicate my character is improper, I have to plead, in excuse, not only the necessity of the case, to which I am forced by the oppression I suffer, but the example of the Prince of Wales himself; who, conceiving his claim to military rank not being properly attended to, sanctioned the publication of the private correspondence of the King, the Duke of York, and himself, in the *Morning-Herald* of December 7, 1803.

I have the honor to be,

My Lord,

Your obliged and obedient Servant,

NATH. JEFFERYS.

*Lord Chancellor, &c. &c. &c.*

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From Lord Erskine and Mr. Fox I never received any answer!—and the letter to the Prince of Wales, some days after His Royal Highness received it, was returned to me unopened, by Colonel M'Mahon, who said, if I would write a letter to him, stating in very respectful terms,

what I wished to be communicated to the Prince, he would take an early opportunity to lay it before His Royal Highness.

I knew too well what this meant, to comply with it; I told the Colonel, that the Prince never returned any of my letters before, and that I considered myself to be most ungenerously treated: I should therefore print the letter, that the Public might read what the Prince of Wales would not. Colonel M'Mahon, however, expressing a desire that I would write to him, I the next day sent him the following letter:—

*Pall-Mall, March 17, 1806.*

SIR,

I feel very seriously the injury done to me by the Prince in returning my letter unopened, particularly when I consider that, while my communications to his Royal Highness contained the intelligence of loans and services, my letters were always readily received; but, now that a letter received from me is supposed to contain an application for a performance of the promises of the Prince, and an act of justice to the necessities I have suffered, through a confidence in His Royal Highness, he most ungenerously returns my letter unopened. In the common transactions of life, such a line of conduct would be considered as most strongly indica-

tive of character; and in that light it is considered by those to whom it has been mentioned.

I will never apply to His Royal Highness again for any assistance; for, after what has passed, I have very faint hopes indeed of any act of justice or liberality towards me. The letter, Sir, pointed out to me yesterday as proper to be written, I cannot write; I will not degrade my own character to flatter my oppressor. I have, in the greatest distress, endeavored to preserve a spirit of independence; and, I hope, I never shall be induced, for any temporary advantage, to act otherwise. I have, for a long time, had it in contemplation to appeal to the public, but I have been induced hitherto to delay it, in consequence of an assurance from Lord Moira and others, that the Prince had it not in his power to assist me, but that, *when* he had, I was certain of His Royal Highness's protection;—the Prince has it now in his power, and the treatment I have received decides the line of conduct I shall pursue.—I lament the necessity of such a measure,—the fault of such an exposition is not with me:—I am driven to it by the treatment I experience, and encouraged by the advice and opinion of many very respectable Members of the House of Commons, to whom I yesterday communicated the treatment I have suffered.

No man, in my rank of life, ever made such sacrifices to the Prince's wishes as I have done; none ever received greater and stronger assurances of his satisfaction, and promises of support and protection; and no instance can be found of any man so cruelly deserted.

The verdict of a Jury is a sacred right, and it is the duty of the Prince to respect it in all cases, but particularly not to countenance an infraction where he is a party, and by such infraction can be considered a gainer;

The verdict was virtually against the Prince; it is the only verdict in which he ever was a party, and probably the only one in which he ever will be a party; and, I trust, he will not let it be the only instance upon record, where the plaintiff has been ruined by its not being paid as awarded. I therefore do not stand on the ground of an ordinary creditor—I call upon the justice of the Prince for redress; and, for the services I have performed to the Prince, which he has repeatedly acknowledged to be obligations, and as repeatedly promised to reward, I appeal to the honor of the Prince; and, in this instance, I do not stand in the light of an ordinary creditor.

I totally deny the charge brought against me, of having written a single paragraph in any paper against the Prince, and defy any proof that I have done so; and the ridiculous paragraph in a paper some time since, turning Mrs. Fitzherbert, the Grandmother of the Loves, which occasioned so much uneasiness to that lady and the Prince, and which I was charged with writing, because I happened to be at Brighton at the time, was not only not written by me, but I should never have seen it, had I not, by being charged as the author of it, been induced to inquire for it and read it.

I care not, Sir, for any threats that may be used to prevent my publishing the review I intend, accompanied by this and other letters. I have, in this mode of seeking redress for an injury, the example of the Prince of Wales; who, conceiving his claims to military rank not properly attended to, did not scruple to authorize the publication\* of the private correspondence between the King, the Duke of York, and His Royal Highness.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

NATH. JEFFERYS.

Several days after this, I received the following letter from the Earl of Moira, requesting to see me, in St. James's Place, on the subject of my letter to Colonel M'Mahon :—

*March 26.*

SIR,

Until I could have conversation with Col. M'Mahon, (which my excursion to the coast delayed,) it was useless to propose an interview on the subject of the letter which you addressed to me. If you are at leisure at five o'clock this day, I can then have the pleasure of receiving you.

I have the honor to be Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

MOIRA.

*N. Jefferys, Esq.*

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\* The letters alluded to, were published in the Morning-Herald of December 7, 1803.

I accordingly attended his Lordship ; and I was (as I believe the public will be) very much surprised at what passed.—His Lordship told me my conduct was scandalous, in writing such a letter to Colonel M'Mahon ; and in proposing to publish my case under the title of “ *A Review of the Conduct of the Prince of Wales,*” that he should think it his duty to persuade His Royal Highness never more to notice me ; that my conduct was a fit subject for the attention of an Attorney-General ; and his Lordship went so far as to compare my proposal to publish a review of the Prince’s conduct, to the threatening letter of a felon to extort money.

I replied, that I did not think my conduct warranted the treatment I had received ; that I had been ungenerously and cruelly treated by the Prince of Wales, of whose conduct I conceived I had a right to complain ;—that I disregarded the threats used by his Lordship ; for, as it was the business of an Attorney-General to protect the laws, it should be my care not to break them.

In the course of the conversation, the loans of money to the Prince, and the circumstances at-



tending them, (as before detailed,) were mentioned ;—these circumstances his Lordship said ought to be considered, that he had never heard of them before, and he would see General Hulse upon the subject, and I should hear from him ;—though to this moment I have not heard a word upon the subject.

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## OBSERVATIONS.

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From what I have stated, it must, I think, be admitted, that to all in which the Prince of Wales could express a wish, I was ever ready to attend, and, regardless of inconveniencies to myself, to act up to it.

No circumstance that I can recollect at any period ever occurred in which His Royal Highness expressed the smallest hint of displeasure at my conduct ; and Lord Moira, the confidential friend of the Prince of Wales, in answer to a request I most earnestly made in my last interview with his Lordship, as to the ground of displeasure taken by His Royal Highness against

me, positively declared HE HAD NEVER HEARD OF ANY.

To what then am I to attribute the cruel and ungenerous return I have experienced for the great sacrifice I have made of my time, my property, my health, (worn down by anxiety,) and my reputation?

The Prince of Wales by inducing me to place a reliance on him, caused me to neglect (in the early part of my life) the advantages of a lucrative business, in the pursuit of which, I could to a certainty have secured an ample independence; but, by forsaking it to rely on the promises of His Royal Highness, I lost

“ That tide in the affairs of men,

“ Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune :

“ Omitted, all the voyage of their life

“ Is bound in shallows and in miseries.”

At last, to be denied by the Prince of Wales, and that for ten years together, the return for services which no individual in private life, wishing to be thought possessed of honor and feeling, would have permitted me twice to apply

for, occasioned a disappointment exciting such keen sensations, and caused such bitter consequences, as frequently to have brought me to the very brink of the grave.

Applications in these moments of serious distress have been made to His Royal Highness for relief, but they also passed unnoticed. I have been at Brighton for my health in a state so reduced by these illnesses, as scarcely to be able to walk across the Steine without assistance, where I have been seen by the Prince, but no feeling of kindness was excited by my situation in the mind of His Royal Highness, who, with Mrs. Fitzherbert leaning upon his arm, passed me with looks of scorn.

What I here state was observed by several persons, and mentioned by them in a manner which did more honor to their feelings than it it reflected credit on the conduct of those, by whom such feelings were excited.

It has been asserted, that the pecuniary circumstances of the Prince, from the largeness of my demand, prevented his granting the relief I

solicited ; that could not be the case, as I never specified any amount ; but always confined my request to **SOME RELIEF** from the distressing situation in which an implicit confidence in His Royal Highness had placed me ; and thus the pretended friends of the Prince of Wales, who plead, as an excuse for his conduct, his pecuniary inability to do an act of common justice and humanity, do His Royal Highness (so far from a service) the greatest possible injury.

To state this inability as a cause is an unhandsome return to the people for their liberality to His Royal Highness, in the immense sums at various times granted out of the produce of their industry to supply his luxuries and expenses.

The enormous and unnecessary expenses going on at Brighton, and at Carlton-House ;—at the former, alterations and additions in expenditure, amounting to a sum very considerably exceeding **ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND POUNDS** ; and at Carlton-House, where every thing was finished not long since in a style truly suitable to the re-

sidence of the Heir Apparent, under the direction of an architect of refined taste founded on science, (Mr. Holland ;) all is now pulling to pieces, under the direction of a gentleman, called, an *amateur architect*, at an expense beyond calculation.

These large expenses going on, while the discharge of an act of justice and honor remains unperformed, and which would little interfere with the expenditure alluded to, convey at once a very severe reflection on the conduct of the Prince of Wales, to whom all advances, made by the public, are with a view to a proper and dignified support of his rank ; and must be disgusting to the generous feelings of the people, who are under the necessity of depriving themselves in many instances, not merely of the luxuries, but even of the common comforts of life, to defray the taxes imposed upon them.

The Prince of Wales receives at this time, a larger income than at any former period of his establishment, and lives without the state of that establishment ; which the latter grants of

Parliament were intended to enable him to support.

Upon the application made by His Royal Highness to Parliament, for the arrears that accrued during the minority of His Royal Highness as Duke of Cornwall; it was stated, by Sir Thomas Manners Sutton, (then Attorney-General to the Prince,) that His Royal Highness *only wished justice to be done to him, that he might do justice to others*; and to be enabled (by receiving the money to which he was so entitled) to resume the re-establishment of his household, and to maintain that splendor so necessary to the situation of the Heir-Apparent to the Throne, which he was then deprived of, — 60,000*l.* per annum having been taken away by the commissioners, to pay his former debts.

Government, with an extreme liberality to the Prince, though they resisted the claim to the Cornish arrears, consented (for the purpose of supporting the establishment of the Prince in its accustomed splendor,) to give up the Sixty Thousand Pounds per annum, re-

storing His Royal Highness's income to its original amount.

The Prince declines to revive the splendor of his establishment, notwithstanding this addition of income 60,000*l.* professing, as a reason for his continuing to live in a state of privacy, that it is with the laudable motive to be enabled to discharge the deficiencies, which the Commissioners for settling the debts of His Royal Highness, had occasioned. This magnanimous declaration of the Prince was so flattering to his creditors, who had suffered so much by the deductions of the Commissioners and the delay in the payment of their several demands, that a meeting was actually held at the Thatched-House-Tavern, and an address voted to the Prince, expressive of their approbation and thanks at the mode the Prince had adopted for relieving and doing them justice finally.

As the Prince of Wales, however, in the discharge of this *magnanimous duty*, was not quite in so great a hurry as the creditors for the moment of its performance, the intelligence of the intended address no sooner reached His

Royal Highness's ears, than Colonel M'Mahon was dispatched to say the Prince was so satisfied with their attachment as not to require any address;—but, as it was voted, it might be sent to Colonel M'Mahon.

The Prince of Wales, though in the receipt of the money from the time I mentioned, has never paid a single shilling in diminution of the deficiencies he was so anxious to discharge, and in gratitude for which the creditors were so eager to address him.

---

*Her Royal Highness*

THE

PRINCESS OF WALES,

AND

MRS. FITZHERBERT.

---

The public, I am confident, will conceive an apology to be due from me, for placing upon the same sheet of paper the names of the PRINCESS OF WALES and that of *Mrs. Fitzherbert*.



Knowing, as I do, the benevolent and generous disposition of the Princess, and the TRUE DIGNITY OF VIRTUE which actuates Her Royal Highness, I trust her goodness will excuse any errors of decorum I may commit in my zeal to do justice to her character.

I am not so sanguine in my hopes of forgiveness from Mrs. Fitzherbert, for the presumption she will no doubt consider me guilty of, in placing her name after that of the Princess of Wales, and not allowing to her that precedence, which (to the *surprise* of many of the Nobility of this country, and to the *disgust* of the people at large,) she daily receives at the entertainments of the Great.

Fearless, however, of the anger of Mrs. Fitzherbert, I shall give precedence where it is due.

### THE PRINCESS OF WALES.

Her Royal Highness has been in this country ten years ; during which time, the virtuous, amiable, and truly dignified conduct of this illustrious lady, has secured the esteem of all who have had the honour to approach her—she is beloved, revered, respected,—I might almost say adored : the feelings of sympathy

attend her in her extreme retirement, and from contemplation of her character, a question arises in the mind of all who know her—How THIS CAN BE ?

Attention and kindness from persons of superior virtue always reflect an honor on those to whom that attention is paid. For myself, I should be personally wanting in duty to her Royal Highness, if I omitted, on that or any other occasion, expressing my sensibility at the attention she has condescended to shew to my situation. This feeling of gratitude, I trust, will be considered by her Royal Highness, as an apology for thus introducing her name in this painful appeal to the public.

### MRS. FITZHERBERT.

This Lady, who has for many years held so *conspicuous* a situation, is of a reputable Catholic family, of the name of Smith, in Staffordshire. She married early in life Mr. Wild, a gentleman of fortune, in Dorsetshire ; upon whose death she was again married to Mr. Fitzherbert, and after a few years, became a second time a widow. On the death of Mr. Fitzherbert (being a very rigid Catholic,) she passed a great deal of her time on the Continent.

It is generally understood, that about eighteen years since, she a third time entered into the married state, according to the ceremonies of the Romish Church, with an **ILLUSTRIOUS PERSONAGE** of the Protestant Religion: for this reason, the marriage was said to be kept a secret. This circumstance, however, did not prevent the parties from being received in all societies, in which they had been accustomed to move for several years, as married persons.

The report of such a marriage has been asserted to be groundless, and a union of that **ILLUSTRIOUS PERSONAGE** with a Protestant lady has since taken place, according to the legal forms of the Church of England.

How absurd, therefore, to contend, for a moment, that any such previous marriage could have taken place. No doubt that the friends who thus contend are anxious to gratify Mrs. Fitzherbert, without weighing in their minds the charge they indirectly and unintentionally bring against that **ILLUSTRIOUS PERSONAGE**:—a charge, when proved, punishable by the laws of England with pillory, imprisonment, or transportation, as too frequently occurs at the sessions in the Old Bailey.

## CONCLUSION.

Having now performed my promise to the public, and submitted a detail of the injuries I have sustained, I trust I shall be acquitted of any charge of intemperate warmth of expression, and that due allowance will be made for the sufferings I have experienced.

To those servile minds who make no allowance for injuries when imposed by superiors, I shall answer by quoting the elegant reply of the present Lord Chancellor Erskine, when advocating the cause of the Dean of St. Asaph for a libel; who was threatened to be committed by Mr. Justice Buller for freedom of speech.

“It was the first command and counsel of my youth, always to do what my conscience told me to be my duty, and to leave the consequences to God! I shall carry with me the memory and, I trust, the practice of this parental lesson to the grave:—I have hitherto followed it, and have no reason to complain that my obedience to it has ever been a temporal sacrifice—I have found it, on the contrary, the road to prosperity and wealth—and I shall point it out as such to my children.”

THE END.

A

**LETTER**

ADDRESSED TO

**MRS. FITZHERBERT.**

1950

07-21187-A

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

# A LETTER

ADDRESSED TO

MRS. FITZHERBERT,

IN ANSWER TO

A COMPLAINT,

THAT HER FEELINGS HAVE BEEN HURT BY THE  
MENTION OF HER NAME IN THE

R E V I E W

OF THE CONDUCT OF THE

PRINCE OF WALES,

WITH OBSERVATIONS ON THE

INFLUENCE OF EXAMPLE, &c. &c. &c.

---

BY NATHANIEL JEFFERYS,

*Late M. P. for the City of Coventry.*

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London:

Printed for, and published by, Mr. JEFFERYS, 20, Pall-Mall.

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Printed by J. H. HART, 23, Warwick-Square.

1806  
B.M.

A LETTER

TO THE

MEMBERS OF THE

COMMISSION

ON THE

STATE OF THE

UNION

AND

OF THE

REPORT

TO THE

COMMISSION

ON THE

STATE OF THE

UNION

AND



# INTRODUCTION.

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The facts complained of in the following Letter to Mrs. Fitzherbert are so well known and excite (at this particular moment) such hourly expressions of merited abhorrence and contempt at her conduct, from all ranks of people throughout the Kingdom, that Mr. JEFFERYS does not consider any apology to be necessary for publishing them.

# THE HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF CHARLES THE FIRST

BY SAMUEL JOHNSON

IN TWO VOLUMES

LONDON: Printed by A. MILLAR, in Pall-mall.

MDCCLXXII.

Vol. I.

CHAP. I.

THE DEATH OF KING CHARLES THE FIRST.

THE HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF CHARLES THE FIRST, BY SAMUEL JOHNSON, ESQ. IN TWO VOLUMES. LONDON: Printed by A. MILLAR, in Pall-mall. MDCCLXXII. Vol. I. CHAP. I. THE DEATH OF KING CHARLES THE FIRST.

A  
L E T T E R

ADDRESSED TO

MRS. FITZHERBERT,

UPON THE

INFLUENCE OF EXAMPLE, &c. &c. &c.

---

Hail! — Thou shalt be \*\*\*\*\* hereafter.

SHAKESPEARE.

GOD FORBID!!!

---

MADAM,

YOU are, I understand, much offended at the freedom with which I have mentioned your name in the appeal I have made to the public, and I am informed that I have hurt your feelings;—if, Madam, to hurt your feelings should lead to an alteration of your conduct, and induce you to consult the feelings of others, then should I have reason to rejoice that I have been instrumental in producing a most desirable effect.

Has (do you think) that Illustrious Personage, the Princess of Wales, no feelings?—What must be the sensations of mind in that truly-unfortunate Lady, to witness, for years together, the attention which is due to her paid to you, and to hear of *your* feelings?

You are displeased, I am informed, at my having mentioned the precedence given to you at the Assemblies of the Great:—Can you deny that you do receive the precedence, which, appertaining only to hereditary rank, you, as a commoner, can have no pretensions to?

Do you not sit above your superiors? Is not a marked attention paid to you as the *friend* of the Prince of Wales? Has it not occurred, and frequently too, at entertainments, where you have been in the company of His Royal Highness, that a circle has been formed round *you* similar

to -the circle in the Queen's drawing-room !!!—I know that such attentions have been paid to *you*, and I could name the places where. — I find you complain that I have offended you by saying that such precedence is a matter of surprize to many of the Nobility, and of great disgust to the people at large,—is it possible to be otherwise?

What opinion must the public entertain of your understanding, (to say nothing more,) to see you accept and appear to be gratified with an attention that you not only have no pretensions to, but which every body, except yourself, sees is paid to you from necessity, with disgust and contempt by many, with ridicule by others, and with real respect by NONE?

Have the ancient nobility then, do you suppose, no feelings of uneasiness at the affront thus offered them? And are the

people at large, do you imagine, divested of all feelings upon such occasions?

It is now many years since you were first upon a footing of *intimacy* with the Prince of Wales. A house of great expense was taken for you in Pall-Mall, communicating *privately* with Carlton-House; and the house adjoining the Pavilion at Brighton, till then inhabited by Mr. Weltje, (house-steward to His Royal Highness,) was appropriated to your use, with an establishment upon a scale of magnificence (infinitely beyond the limits of your original income) at the charge of the public, and, consequently, to the loss of the just creditors of the Prince of Wales, who can only be considered a trustee for the proper disposal of the income allowed him by the country for the support of his dignity. The world therefore considers, and the Prince's creditors feel, that you have been, and are still, living at the pub-

lic charge.—Have the public then, in your opinion, no feelings? They have: and their's can be no other than feelings of **EXTREME DISGUST.**

When the Prince of Wales was married to the Princess, it was agreed that you should retire from that *intimacy of friendship* you had so long enjoyed, and your houses in Pall-Mall and at Brighton were given up accordingly.

However creditable, prospectively, to your character, that you did retire to the Villa purchased for you at Castle-Bear, yet, viewed in a *retrospective* light, the *necessity* of such a retreat, (accompanied, as it was, by a pension of several thousands per annum, payable quarterly at an eminent banker's, and a retention of the very valuable jewels, plate, &c. &c. given to you by the Prince,) did not, in the opinion of the

world, add much good fame to your reputation.

Had you continued in the retirement expected of you, the world would probably never have disturbed you in the enjoyment of your great possessions, by any reflections upon the mode of their acquisition; but, not long after the Prince of Wales was married, His Royal Highness discontinued to live with the Princess, and returned to your society, in which he was eagerly received!!!

○ SHAME! WHERE IS THY BLUSH?

On this unexpected renewal of *intimacy*, an establishment, upon a still larger scale, was formed for you; a noble house in Park-lane, most magnificently fitted up, and superbly furnished; a large retinue of servants; carriages of various descriptions; a new Pavilion, built for your *separate resi-*



dence at Brighton ; and the Prince more frequently in your society than ever !!!

When, Madam, your friends pretend that *your* feelings are hurt, let me ask you (and them) if you think the people of moral character in this country have no feelings? I am sure they must relinquish all claim to any, if they could view, with indifference, such a departure from decency as this conduct exhibits in you, and not see, with anxiety and fear for the future, the probable result of such a dreadful infatuation ;—not less dangerous to the future interest of this country than any that was ever experienced at the profligate court of *Versailles*.

Let no more be said, then, of *your* feelings, but consider the POIGNANT FEELINGS of the much-to-be-pitied Princess of Wales.

Consider the INDIGNANT FEELINGS of the ancient nobility of the country, insulted by the precedence you enjoy.

Consider the DISGUSTED FEELINGS of the public, (while suffering under the weight of taxes,) upon seeing so large a proportion of the fruits of their industry so unworthily bestowed upon you.

Consider the OUTRAGED FEELINGS of the moral class of society,\* who, to their praise, attach importance to the influence derived from example.

Give but a due consideration, Madam, to the feelings of the different classes of society

\* At a dinner given at the Mansion-House last week, the Chief-Magistrate, as usual, gave "*The King!*" The second toast was, "*That much-injured Woman, Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales!*" which was received with ENTHUSIASTIC RAPTURE by the whole company. — *Morning-Post*, July 7, 1806.

alluded to, and they cannot fail of promoting that change in the disposition of your mind, which will relieve you from the painful feelings of which your friends insinuate that you complain, and secure you from the farther contempt of the world.

“ ————— I charge thee, fling away ambition ;

“ By that sin fell the angels.” —————

SHAKESPEARE.

I am, Madam,

Your obedient Servant,

*Pall-Mall;*  
*July 5, 1806.*

NATH. JEFFERYS.

...and the ...  
...in the ...  
...which will ...  
...feelings of ...  
...that you ...  
...the ...

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I am, Sir,

Yours faithfully,

...

NATHAN ...

## TO THE PUBLIC.

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A Pamphlet having been recently published, under the Title of **DIAMOND CUT DIAMOND**, by an *Anonymous Author*, containing many positive falsehoods, gross misrepresentations, and much scurrilous personal abuse of my character and conduct, I have been induced to prepare for the press a reply (which will shortly be published) to the various charges brought forward against me, *all* of which I am confident I shall be able to refute, to the entire satisfaction of every person whose approbation is worth the possessing; but an edition of the Pamphlet alluded to, published yesterday, contains charges against me so injurious to my character as to require an instant contradiction.

It is stated in this Pamphlet, that I obtained from the Duke of N— and the

Earl of M— Twenty Pounds each, on the pretence of a charitable subscription for a distressed gentleman in the Fleet-Prison, and that, with the exception of five pounds, I retained it for my own use. Such a charge, if true, would subject me to the well-merited contempt of society, as well as to a criminal prosecution: — but the whole is a fabrication: — I never applied to any Duke of N— or Earl of M— upon such an occasion, nor did I ever receive the sum alluded to for any such purpose. If what I state is suspected to be false, let those who accuse me of so infamous an act bring forward the names of this Duke of N— and Earl of M—, whoever they are, as well as the distressed Gentleman in the Fleet-Prison.

It is also stated, that I received in advance One Hundred and Twenty Guineas, which had been subscribed by some School-Boys for the purpose of presenting their Master with a Piece of Plate, and that I

retained the money for my own use, without performing the contract:

This is another infamous fabrication, as I never received, in the whole course of my life, any such Order or any such Payment; and, if what I here assert is not credited, let my accuser name the School-Master or any of the Boys, and call on them for the proof of this most groundless charge.

I now presume to ask the Public — what credit they think can be due to any of the assertions in the Pamphlet alluded to, and what sort of a cause that must be, which, in the opinion of its anonymous defenders, makes a resort to such infamous falsehoods necessary.

THE END.

the first of the month of January  
the first of the month of January

I have been thinking of you  
very much lately and I hope  
you are well and happy. I  
am well and happy and I  
am thinking of you very much  
lately and I hope you are  
well and happy. I am well  
and happy and I am thinking  
of you very much lately and  
I hope you are well and  
happy.

I am thinking of you very  
much lately and I hope you  
are well and happy. I am  
well and happy and I am  
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lately and I hope you are  
well and happy. I am well  
and happy and I am thinking  
of you very much lately and  
I hope you are well and  
happy.



A  
**REFUTATION**  
OF THE  
**POSITIVE FALSEHOODS**  
AND  
**GROSS MISREPRESENTATIONS**  
CONTAINED IN THE  
*SEVERAL PUBLICATIONS*  
PROFESSING TO BE IN REPLY TO THE  
**R E V I E W**  
OF THE CONDUCT OF THE  
**PRINCE OF WALES:**  
WITH  
**OBSERVATIONS.**

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By **NATHANIEL JEFFERYS.**

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TO WHICH IS ADDED THE  
**REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS**  
UPON  
**THE TRIAL**  
BEFORE **LORD KENYON**, IN 1796,  
FOR THE RECOVERY OF THE MONEY DUE TO MR. JEFFERYS  
FOR JEWELS AND PLATE SOLD TO  
**THE PRINCE OF WALES.**

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AND SOLD

At Mr. BLACKLOCK'S, *Royal-Exchange*; and at No. 44, *Pall-Mall*;  
and may be had of all the Booksellers.

Price 3s.

218062  
B.M.K.

# UNITED STATES

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BUREAU OF LAND MANAGEMENT

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# INTRODUCTION.

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**G**REAT Misrepresentation of the evidence of the Proceedings upon the Trial before Lord Kenyon, for the recovery of the money due to me for Jewels and Plate sold to the Prince of Wales, having been made in the several Anonymous Pamphlets lately published, I have, with the advice of my friends, reprinted the proceedings upon the Trial, as taken from the notes of the shorthand-writer; by a candid perusal of which, the reader will be enabled to judge of the justice of the claim, (declared by the present Lord Chancellor to be fair and honorable,) and of the extreme injustice and hardship of my case, in the mode adopted for the payment of the sum awarded me by the Verdict, a deduction of nearly 17,000*l.* having been made from it.

# INTRODUCTION

—

Great Britain, 1847

of the British Empire

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## A REFUTATION, &c.

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THAT "Facts are stubborn things," the writers of the Pamphlets which have been published in answer to the "Review of the Conduct of the Prince of Wales" have abundantly proved; as no assertion that I have made in the publication alluded to, relative to the ungenerous conduct of His Royal Highness towards me, has been in any degree contradicted or refuted, otherwise than by the substitution (in the place of argument and truth) of the most violent personal abuse, infamous falsehoods, and gross misrepresentation of my character and conduct.

If all that has been so maliciously said of me could be proved to be true, it would not, I

am confident, in the opinion of the thinking part of the world, be considered as a justification of the cruelty and unfeeling oppression, which I have experienced in return for the unlimited confidence, so fatally for my family and myself, placed by me in the Prince of Wales.

If answers were to flow from the Press till every type in Europe was exhausted, they could not refute the assertions which I have made, as I have most scrupulously adhered to facts, which can neither be palliated nor denied; and, if the anonymous writers of these Pamphlets, who, with more apparent regard to their *interest* than to their *characters*, have attempted to apologize (in their unbounded abuse of my character) for the DIGNIFIED INJUSTICE of which I complain, had sufficiently attended to the strong ground I have taken, supported by truth, I do not think they would have hazarded a contest, from which His Royal Highness is likely to receive such little *benefit*, and his champions as little *honor*.

It is rather unfortunate, that Pamphlets, avowedly written to rescue the Prince of Wales

from what is termed “UNMERITED ODIUM,” should contain scarcely any thing else than reflections upon me, which apply more closely to the situation and feelings of his Royal Highness than these writers intend, or than their Royal Patron will thank them for.

Is it possible to reflect upon my having been subject in the year 1797 to a Commission of Bankruptcy, without reflecting at the same time upon the Prince of Wales, an unlimited confidence in whom was the cause of it?—Is then such a misfortune, and arising from such a source, a proper subject of derision and scorn from the advocates of the Prince of Wales?—His Royal Highness’s rank in life places him above the possibility of such a calamity, and his feelings ought to place him above the indelicacy of patronizing reflections upon a misfortune, from which, (without any merit of his own,) he is exempt; more especially ought not those to be insulted, by his authority, with reproach for misfortunes, which they have experienced in his service, and who have a claim on that account to his protection.

Though the Prince of Wales, from his rank, cannot be a bankrupt, His Royal Highness has experienced a situation very nearly resembling it.

In the year 1795, upon an application to Parliament to pay the debts of the Prince of Wales, the management of His Royal Highness's affairs were, (by the authority of Parliament,) taken out of his hands, and placed under the direction of Commissioners, not materially differing in their appointment from *assignees*. The payment made by these Commissioners to the creditors of a sum *less* than the amount of their claims can be considered in no other light than as a *dividend*; and the legal discharge given by the creditors from all farther claim, on their part, upon the effects of His Royal Highness, bears a very strong resemblance to a *certificate*, with this exception only, that a certificate requires the consent of a majority of creditors, and, in the case of the Prince of Wales, the discharge on the part of the creditors from all farther legal claim was obtained by **COMPULSION**; as the Commissioners would not pay the sums tendered to the credi-



tors, but upon the condition of a *complete and final discharge!!!*

Is, then, the character of the Prince of Wales advanced, or are His Royal Highness's feelings consulted, by the unmanly and abusive reflections of his anonymous defenders, who provoke comparisons and discussions, which would otherwise not have been brought forward?

Very ungenerous and unjustifiable are the reflections that have been so profusely heaped upon me for the misfortune I experienced; and remarks, accompanied with derision and scorn, upon such a calamity, cannot but be disgusting to every feeling mind, more particularly to the commercial part of the community; — it is a misfortune, which many men (now of importance as to wealth and character) have, in the vicissitudes of the world, at some former period of their lives experienced, and to which every man in trade, however wealthy at one time, may be subject at another.

The Prince of Wales, it is to be hoped, cannot think his cause advanced by such unmanly reflections upon misfortune ;—if he does, he is most lamentably deceived.

I have been reflected upon for not paying Twenty Shillings in the Pound ;—Did the Prince pay Twenty Shillings in the Pound ?—It was the deficiency in the payments of His Royal Highness to me that caused my deficiency to my creditors. It is alleged against me, that I did not offer any of the debentures to my creditors, who would gladly have received them at the full amount, without subjecting me to the heavy loss I complain of :—the charge is false ;—I paid large sums in debentures to many of my creditors ;—to one person, at one time, Ten Thousand Pounds ; and to others large sums. So far from the creditors being willing to take these debentures without loss to me, (as has been positively asserted,) I did not experience any one instance in which I could persuade a creditor to soften his demand a single Shilling in consequence of the losses I had sustained ; and several instances occurred, in which creditors,

who were paid the whole amount of their demands in debentures, proved debts upon my Commission for the deficiencies occasioned solely by the discount. It has been also, with an equal degree of falsehood asserted, that I parted with the debentures at a greater discount than I might have sold them at, if I had applied to respectable people on the occasion. All the debentures I had were either paid to my creditors, or disposed of through the medium of Bankers and Brokers of the most respectable character.

Great stress is laid by my opponents upon the small amount of the dividend arising from my effects, the occasion of which arose from very large payments having been made before a commission was in contemplation, from the great loss upon the forced sale of my property in trade to the amount of several thousand pounds, and other losses arising from the oppressive severity of creditors, of which the following is an instance :—I had purchased, for the Prince of Wales, of Messrs. ——— Jew Merchants in the City, diamonds to a great amount: I paid them a considerable sum

in debentures, subject to a heavy discount, and gave them my notes for the remainder.

As a collateral security for the payment of my notes, I placed in the hands of these Gentlemen, a bond of the Duke of York, payable to me, for Three Thousand Pounds, having no great length of time to run; at their desire I signed a power, enabling them, in case of my not paying the notes, to apply the produce of the bond in discharge of them. The great losses I experienced from the deductions made by the Prince's Commissioners from the sum awarded by the Verdict of the Jury, put it out of my power to discharge my notes with punctuality; and, without any other notice than what I obtained from the accidental reading of a newspaper, I was informed by public advertisement of the intended sale of this bond at Garraway's Coffee-House. It was there sold for a sum, which, after the expenses of sale, &c. left only One Thousand Three Hundred and Forty-Eight Pounds Ten Shillings, which was all that was allowed to me, though the purchaser was a partner in the house with whom it was deposited as a security; and the whole of the bond

of Three Thousand Pounds, with interest, was paid by the Duke of York sometime afterwards!!!—Subject to such losses, it is to be wondered at that my estate paid a small dividend?

My concerns with the Duke of York were very large, and I might justly be charged with great ingratitude to His Royal Highness were I to omit the opportunity which now offers of expressing my most sincere and grateful acknowledgements for the obligations conferred upon me by this illustrious and truly honorable character. I speak of His Royal Highness from EXPERIENCE: he has conferred upon me many favors, HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS NEVER MADE ME A PROMISE WHICH HE DID NOT PERFORM; and I have no hesitation in saying, there is not (in my opinion) a man existing; on whose bare word I could rely with more entire satisfaction than on that of the Duke of York. I firmly believe, that, in a strict adherence to his word, he is (like His Royal Father) a man of PERFECT INTEGRITY.

Before I quit the subject of bankruptcy, which has been so illiberally dwelt upon by

my opponents, I think it fair in my own defence to state facts, which I trust the public will give me credit for, at least as far as my intentions and my limited means have enabled me to put such intentions in force.

After a bankrupt has obtained, by a certificate, a legal discharge from all farther claims from his creditors for the payment of deficiencies, the voluntary discharge (out of subsequent gains) of such deficiencies is generally considered as a criterion favorable to his character; and here I presume it will be eagerly asked by my opponents, if by any such voluntary payments I have ever shewn a disposition entitling me to this favorable opinion? In answer to this question, I can, with great satisfaction, reply that I have!—and not rest my claim to it on my own assertion only.

Since the period of my misfortunes in 1797, success has occasionally attended my efforts in the business I have followed. and am now engaged in, the sale of property on commission; and I never yet had a year of prosperity in which I did not appropriate some portion of its

gains to the full discharge of Twenty Shillings in the Pound to some of my former creditors, (giving, of course, the preference to those from whom I have experienced kindness in the hour of distress,) and who now, in consequence of the unparalleled infamy with which my character has been attacked in anonymous publications, have offered to come forward with their names, and establish the fact, should the veracity of my assertion be doubted by any person of respectability. I have, by these voluntary sacrifices to perform what I considered a duty, occasionally put myself to great inconvenience.

Considering the extreme severity with which I am treated by these anonymous writers, I think I have a right to ask, if the Prince of Wales, since the *compulsory discharge* he obtained from his creditors, has made good, by subsequent payments, the deficiencies they suffered; though His Royal Highness might have done so, without sustaining any inconvenience, as the liberality of the Country in pecuniary supplies to the Prince of Wales have most amply provided him with the means of performing such an act of liberal justice?—It is,

however, seriously to be lamented, that His Royal Highness has not done so, in preference to the vast and unnecessary expenditure in buildings at Brighton, a very small portion of the money employed upon which, would have been more than sufficient for the full discharge of every former deficiency to his suffering creditors; would have been a source of happiness to many families, enduring the severest distress on his account; and have held up the character of the Prince of Wales to that estimation in the public opinion, which is equally for the interest of the nation and the honor of His Royal Highness.

Reviled and abused, as I have been, by anonymous writers, in what they call the Cause of the Prince of Wales, it is and ever has been the great object of my ambition, since the period of my misfortunes in 1797, to convince my creditors, by my conduct, that I am not undeserving of the good opinion of those, who have generously and uniformly expressed a good opinion of me; and to let others of them, whose opinion has not been so favorable, see that it has been founded in error. As far as my limited means have permitted, I have acted



up to this principle ; and, should success attend my future efforts in business, so as to increase those means, I trust I shall never possess them unaccompanied by a disposition to perform an act of justice and integrity ; and I hope I shall think it a duty to the last hour of my life, should prosperity attend me, to appropriate annually a portion of my gains to the discharge of debts, which, though no longer due in law, are so in HONOR.

Had the Prince of Wales been actuated by a similar principle, and done by me as I had a RIGHT to expect, and as the world say His Royal Highness OUGHT to have done, I should long since have had an opportunity of practically proving to my creditors the sincerity of my declarations ; the time, however, I hope, is not far distant, when the industry of my own efforts, aided by the liberal support of the public, may supply the means, which have been so ungenerously withheld from me.

The charges against me, that I have expended, according to some accounts, Fourteen Thousand Pounds,—and others, Seven

Thousand Pounds, to get into Parliament, are both erroneous: the expenditure was not equal to one-half of the smallest of the sums named:—it was what at the time I considered myself entitled to. I admit, however, that circumstances have since proved, the expense ought not to have been incurred.

In the space of the last ten years, nearly twenty members of the House of Commons, engaged in commercial pursuits, have been in the Gazette as bankrupts; it is therefore very illiberal and unfair to single me out, as bringing disgrace upon the House of Commons, in having been subject to a Commission of Bankruptcy while I was a member. That my unfortunate situation, in the opinion of some persons, might be thought a discredit to a seat in Parliament I will not dispute; but that my conduct, as a member, ever disgraced it, I defy the proof of.

The system of attack upon me is so general, that no point is left unassailed; and, speaking of my parliamentary conduct, my opponents say, I was unworthy of the seat I held in

Parliament, as no party could depend upon me, my vote being sometimes given in support of Ministers, and at others, in opposition to their measures;—a greater compliment (however unintentional on the part of those who confer it) could not have been paid to me; as I believe it will not be disputed, that a Member of Parliament, who, in the discharge of his duty, wishes to make the law of his conscience the rule of his parliamentary conduct, will decide upon measures according to their merit, without being influenced by any consideration for the party whence they originate.

To abuse and villify me is the grand object; and, neither the money expended for a seat in Parliament, nor my conduct in Parliament, would have been a ground of objection, if I had not presumed to remind the Prince of Wales of obligations, which His Royal Highness acknowledged in the warmest terms to have received from me, and OF PROMISES WHICH HAVE NEVER BEEN PERFORMED!!!

I am ashamed to trespass so long on the patience of the reader, by entering into a re-

futation of so great a variety of charges, founded in absurdity, malice, and falsehood. By one writer I am charged with pride, in aspiring to the company of my superiors, to the neglect of my own connections and friends, in the giddy pursuit of ambition ; by another, I am described as too humble and low minded, in the choice of companions and associates.

Upon the latter charge, of an improper choice of associates, these *defenders* of the Prince of Wales had better not say too much, as their reflections in the opinion of the public may apply more closely to a quarter for which it was not intended than would be acceptable. In short, there is scarcely an item in the whole catalogue of vices and follies, to which human nature is subject, of which, in the opinion of my opponents, I am not guilty ; the whole of which is to be accounted for in very few words, —that *I lent the Prince of Wales Money at his earnest request, and dared to ask him for it ; and that His Royal Highness, having made promises which were not performed, I presumed to remind him of them.*

As an additional mode of *defending*, as it is called, the character of the Prince of Wales, I am branded with every vile epithet which the most immoral life could merit, founded on a relation of anecdotes and facts which never existed, and of which I defy the proof; but, supposing them for an instant to be true, can such very gross reflections on the presumed immorality of my life be read as a *defence* to the Prince of Wales, without exciting in the minds of those who read them a disposition to inquire, how far His Royal Highness himself exhibits in his private life, in the several relations of a husband, a parent, and a son, a pattern of morality and virtue worthy of imitation; for such inquiries, His Royal Highness is indebted to his injudicious *defenders*.

A charge is brought against me, and much dwelt upon, (for the falsehood of which I appeal to the Prince of Wales,) it is this, that I forced myself and my goods upon the notice of His Royal Highness, and wasted my time at Carlton-House when I ought to have been at-

tending to my business at home.—That I did not attend to my concerns at home, in preference to attending the orders of His Royal Highness, I have indeed most serious cause to lament; but, that such a line of conduct was the result of my own choice, the Prince of Wales knows was not the case. His Royal Highness has frequently (in the presence of those who well remember the fact) commended me in very high terms that I did not do the very thing which I am now charged with, but that I attended only when sent for; and, so far from urging the Prince of Wales to an increase of the account, I have at times received from His Royal Highness very expensive orders, which I have delayed putting in execution, to afford him an opportunity to change his mind, which has often been the case, and for which His Royal Highness has in very strong terms expressed his approbation and his thanks. I refer with confidence to the Prince of Wales for the truth of what I assert, and I appeal to the world on the cruelty of this determined system of abuse, which, in a pretended *defence* of the Prince of Wales, condemns me for the very acts, for the performance of which I have re-

ceived His Royal Highness's approbation and thanks. — Such is the reward for my zeal in the service of the Prince of Wales!

The very trade in which I am engaged is, by a false representation of facts, made a ground of censure. I am charged with extravagance and vanity in having possessed and resided at East-Cliff-Lodge, near Ramsgate, the present residence of Lord Keith; where, it is said, the costly decorations of the late Mr. Bond Hopkins, a gentleman of large fortune, were not in a style of splendor to suit what is called my silly vanity; — that I pulled all to pieces and refitted up every part with the greatest profusion of expense.—This charge is as absurd as it is false; for, the plain fact is this: Mr. Bond Hopkins died before the house was finished, and I purchased it in that state of the executors, one of whom I had the pleasure of knowing, — Mr. Chamberlaine. I accordingly finished what Mr. Hopkins had left undone, not with a view to gratify any silly vanity, but as an article of trade, to resell it; and I of course took the opportunity, while I possessed

it, of residing there. Was there ever any thing so absurd as inventing such lies, and forcing them upon the public, under the pretence of *defending* the character of the Prince of Wales?—A charge of extravagance might, with equal justice, be brought against Mr. Godsall, the first coachmaker in London, for having elegant and expensive carriages in his possession; or against Mr. Rundel, the jeweller, for having the most splendid collection of jewels of any man in Europe in his house; as against me for having occasionally elegant and attractive houses; it being the superiority of merit, in every article of trade, whether in a carriage, a diamond ornament, or a house, that leads to an expeditious sale of it.

Another ridiculous charge of vanity and extravagance is, that I had the presumption to invite to my table the guests of the Prince, whom I met at Carlton-House:—I never was at Carlton-House but as a man of business, to receive His Royal Highness's orders, when sent for.—I never met any persons as guests at Carlton-House, and no instance can be produced of my ever having had the presumption to invite any



individual to dine at my table who was a guest of the Prince.

The general habits of my life are totally and maliciously misrepresented by the *defenders* of the Prince of Wales. I am represented as living in extravagant luxury, while those, who know my real habits of life and those of my family, know that a quiet and regular system of domestic economy is that by which we are guided, and have been ever. — I am represented, in one of these Pamphlets, as sallying into the street with a bottle of Burgundy under one arm and of Champagne under the other. I can safely appeal to those who know me, that intemperance forms no part of my character; and the insinuation that Burgundy and Champagne are the wines I drink is a mean and pitiful endeavor to render me contemptible in the eyes of the world; I never had any Champagne or Burgundy in my house. Whatever may be my habits of life, I have not the vanity to suppose that the world can feel any interest in them; and, therefore, the only apology I can make for obtruding so much of the subject on the

public notice is that which I hope will be received as my excuse.

Every individual, let him fancy what he will to the contrary, even the Prince of Wales himself, has an interest in the good opinion of the public; more particularly those who, like myself, are dependent upon the public for support; the losses I have experienced render the public opinion to me a matter of great moment; my adversaries know it, and have artfully endeavored, by the grossest falsehoods and misrepresentations, to deprive me of the benefit of it. I therefore, in my own defence, have been obliged to this long detail of contradictions. I must now notice charges against me of a nature so shameful on the part of my accusers, from their entire falsehood, as to provoke, I have no doubt, in the minds of all who read them, a feeling of extreme disgust and of sincere sorrow, that such base means should be resorted to, as a defence of the conduct of the Prince of Wales, the Heir-Apparent to the British Throne.

I am charged with having received of the Duke of N—— and the Earl of M——, each of them, Twenty Pounds, under the pretence of making a collection to assist a distressed gentleman in the Fleet-Prison ; and that, with the exception of Five Pounds, I kept the remainder, (Thirty Five Pounds,) to my own use ; thereby defrauding these Noblemen of their money under a false pretence, and depriving the distressed person, for whom this assistance was said to be obtained, of the benefit of their benevolence.—Such a conduct, if true, would justly expose me to the well-merited contempt of society, and the effects of a criminal prosecution ; but the whole is a most infamous falsehood, as I never at any time applied to any Duke of N—— or Earl of M—— on such an occasion, or received from them or any body else the sums in question. So far from having adopted so infamous a line of conduct, I am compelled to mention a circumstance out of which this disgraceful story has, I suppose, arisen, that the public may see in what degree I am deserving of censure or otherwise. — About four years since, I was applied to in behalf of a distressed Baronet

n the Fleet. I knew little of him but by the recommendation of a third person.—Desirous of relieving distress so urgent as his was represented to be, I mentioned my intention to the person applying to me of soliciting a subscription of the Baronets whom I knew, in behalf of one of their own order; and, presuming upon success, I sent him Five Pounds, and after that two or three pounds more.

I never applied but to two persons, from one of whom I received Two Guineas, and nothing from the other; but, so many close questions and remarks were put to me the instant I mentioned the name of the person for whom this subscription was wanted, that I relinquished all attempts to get more, and contented myself with my good intentions towards him; for which, with the advance of Seven or Eight Pounds, and provisions at different times sent to him, the reward I experienced was, the infamous accusation alluded to.—If what I state is not true, why not bring forward this pretended Duke of N—— or Earl of M—— to contradict me.

Another charge, of an equally-infamous nature, and equally false, is, that when in business as a goldsmith, I received from some school-boys One Hundred and Twenty Guineas, the amount of a subscription they had made for the purpose of presenting their master with a piece of plate, and that I sent them some paltry article of the value of about Thirty Pounds, keeping the One Hundred and Twenty Guineas to my own use. — I never at any time in the course of my life received any such sum, or any such order ; and, if what I say is not credited, let the schoolmaster or any one of the boys be brought forward to establish the charge ! The whole story is a base falsehood !

Another charge of a similar description as to mean and base intention is, that I did not lose any thing by my concerns with the Prince of Wales, but that I dissipated my property and destroyed my health upon a French lady residing in Charles-street, Berkeley-square, to whom, it is said, I presented an elegant side-board of plate. — This is also a base and infamous invention ; — I never knew a lady so described, and never gave to any woman in my

life, either a sideboard of plate, or a piece of plate of any value whatever.

The public, I am sure, will be struck with horror at a line of conduct so infamous, and from the effects of which no individual can be safe, let his character be ever so irreproachable, if attempts like these are countenanced, to disturb the peace of a family, long happy in the enjoyment of mutual affection.

Is it possible to believe the Prince of Wales can be gratified with a conduct (under the alleged pretence of defending his character) so infamous, so base, so cruel, and so mean?—To suppose so would be a libel indeed on the character of His Royal Highness as a MAN!

The last publication which has appeared contains a charge against me, tremendous in sound only, but which, upon the slightest examination, conveys a reflection so severe upon the Prince, that no man (except under the mask of pretended friendship) would have mentioned it:—it is, that I wrote a letter to Lord Moira, containing a threat to extort money from the

Prince of Wales. In the Review of the Conduct of the Prince, I have stated, that, at his earnest request, in a moment of great difficulty, I lent His Royal Highness at one time One Thousand Five Hundred and Eighty - Five Pounds, and at another Four Hundred and Twenty Pounds, making together about Two Thousand Pounds. His Royal Highness, upon the loan of this money, expressed himself under the greatest obligation for a service, which he declared he *never would forget*. This violent attempt to *extort* money from the Prince of Wales, then, was a letter, couched in the most humble terms, written on a bed of sickness to Lord Moira, requesting, as a great favor, the *loan* of Two Thousand Pounds from the Prince, which I expressed a hope could not be considered as an unreasonable request, it being no more than the sum, which I, an humble individual, had lent on a former occasion to the Prince of Wales, and which service His Royal Highness had declared he *never could forget*: that if His Royal Highness would grant me this loan, I would thankfully accept it AS A LOAN, to be accounted for to His Royal Highness out of any money he might hereafter think due to me

for the services which His Royal Highness had acknowledged that I had performed for him. In soliciting this return, for that which His Royal Highness had called a favor, and which, when he received it, he declared he *never could forget*, I am branded with the epithet of a *felon writing letters to extort money !!!* And, because the letters contain some communication from me to Lord Moira of private embarrassment, which it might reasonably be supposed would have operated as a stimulus to an act of liberality on the part of the Prince, they are meanly given to a hireling writer to be published, to do me all the injury which an exposure of embarrassment might be supposed to occasion.

If in a moment of distress I had assisted a friend in private life with 2000*l.* or any sum of money which he had represented to be necessary to his relief; and at a future period circumstances might have made a loan of a similar amount necessary to me; where, would I ask, should I have applied for relief but to the quarter where I had granted it, and that under a presumption that it *could not and indeed would not be refused?*



I have applied, in the letter alluded to, to the Prince of Wales for a return only to the extent of a service, which he (the Heir-Apparent to a Throne) has acknowledged with thanks to have received from me; and every villanous epithet that can attach to the character of a thief is applied to me, as though it were a folly, in the opinion of the pretended friends of the Prince of Wales, to confide in his Royal Highness, and a crime to expect from him the performance of a promise.—Of all enemies, there are none so dangerous as injudicious friends, and this, it is to be feared, His Royal Highness will find ere long to his cost.

I will trouble my readers with an answer to only one charge more,—which is, that, in case of revolutionary times, I might be expected to take an active part.—This charge is almost too contemptible for notice.

The feelings, which I cannot but entertain for the severe injuries I have received personally from the Prince of Wales, ought not to involve me in a charge of disaffection to the Government; and I think his affection to his Prince

is the least to be questioned, who has made the greatest sacrifices in proof of his attachment.

I am ready to pay every homage that is due to the Sovereign and his offspring; their rank in the country gives them claim to homage and regard; but surely it is not too much to expect, that a conduct correspondent with their station should legitimate and ratify the claim.— And, however the Prince of Wales may be persuaded by the servility of sycophants to think that different duties attach to different stations, of this he may be assured, to use the words of an elegant writer,— “ That  
 “ the basis of all lasting reputation is laid in  
 “ moral worth. Great rank and splendor may  
 “ sparkle for a time in the public eye. The  
 “ world looks up to them with wonder as to an  
 “ extraordinary comet or blazing star. Dis-  
 “ tinguished virtue and worth, in whatever  
 “ rank they may be found, create less asto-  
 “ nishment, but, like the fixed luminaries of  
 “ Heaven, they shine with a more steady and  
 “ permanent lustre.”

## LAW REPORT.

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*Court of King's-Bench, Westminster, Feb. 18.  
1806. Sittings before Lord-Chief-Justice  
Kenyon, and a Special Jury.*

*Jefferys v. T. Walker, Esq. and Others.*

Mr. ERSKINE said, he was counsel for Mr. Jefferys, who had long been an eminent jeweller in this town.—The Defendants are the Commissioners appointed under an Act of Parliament for the liquidation of the Debts of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. Undoubtedly, the subject of this Action was not at all in the contemplation of Parliament when this Act was made. But it was ~~fit~~ his Lordship should know; (for, the sooner any thing that could create a prejudice in the cause was removed the better;)—it was necessary that his Lordship and the Jury, who were to try this cause, should know, that the sum of money demanded by Mr. Jefferys in this

Action was not due from the Prince of Wales in consequence of any private contract entered into by the Prince and Mr. Jefferys, in former times, between the date of the Prince arriving at full age and the present period ; but that it arose in consequence of the contract of marriage which took place between His Royal Highness and his illustrious relation ; and was solely, singly, and entirely, for the jewels furnished for Her Royal Highness, with the approbation, not merely of the Prince her Husband, but also of the King and Queen. They were directed to be made by the Prince. They were shewn at different times to their Majesties in the course of their being made up in that elegant style and fashion, which was necessary for such a wearer ; and they were at all times sanctioned and approved of by His Royal Highness ; he had reason to suppose by his Royal Parents also. Justice must be done to the Defendants, who appeared to have no other interest in permitting Mr. Jefferys to bring this cause into court than that they conceived it to be their public duty, in order that the value of these jewels might be fairly estimated. It was not a thing which one would wish, most undoubtedly, to bring into court

very illustrious persons, who ought to be withdrawn as much as possible from forums of that kind, otherwise he could have called His Royal Highness himself, and he did expect to see a person, (Lord Cholmondeley, who afterwards came into court,) high in the service of the Prince of Wales, who he was sure would willingly by his testimony confirm the truth of what he had then uttered. He was glad this was so, because most undoubtedly when the Act of Parliament was passed it looked in a very different direction. His Royal Highness had contracted many debts, and some of them were such as probably would require that scrutiny which was never ill bestowed when a contract of any magnitude was to be under investigation. If, when this cause was over, the Jury might go to St. James's, they would see these Jewels to much more advantage than they could possibly be described in court, for they would see them worn by the Illustrious Possessor of them. The sum depended entirely on those who contracted for these Jewels being made (said Mr. Erskine).— I confess, for one, that I think the splendor of a court, and that which is necessary to support that dignity, and those ornaments which are

the subject of this action, are expenses that Englishmen will least of all be disposed to grudge. It is impossible to suppose, that a great and dignified country can be maintained with all those eminent stations, and with all that is necessary to support the great fabric of society, without that which gives dignity and illustration to human life ; and perhaps nothing less exhausts the resources of a nation than such expenses, because they tend to create emulation and to the encouragement of the Arts and Sciences, to the advancement of the manufactures, and the various reciprocations of human life, in a country lifted up by its trade, and blessed with the most extensive commerce. Not a farthing of this expense goes out of the country ; but, if it did, and if it were lost in that bottomless gulph, where many large sums have been lost, it is nothing to this jeweller, who has sold his wares to those who honored him with their orders.

I have not the honor to be in the service of the Prince of Wales, but I think I do him no more than justice when I declare, that I believe he would be one of the last men, who would wish to deprive a tradesman who had furnished

him with any commodity in the course of his trade of an iota of its value. It is necessary, however, that I should say he has the same interest as any other man in lessening the demand, where his funds are to be answerable; for, the Act of Parliament mortgages part of the Revenue of the Prince for the payment of his debts, and that revenue does not return to him till those debts are paid. In proportion therefore as those debts are lessened, his revenue is increased: — That, however, can have no effect where the mind is rightly placed.

Mr. Erskine said, that, after Mr. Jefferys brought in his bill before the Commissioners on oath, he was summoned under the authority of the statute before the Commissioners, and desired that the jewels should be looked at; they were inspected by two or three persons eminent in the trade; but, from whose declaration, which would be given in evidence he did not know they had an opportunity to form that accurate judgement that was necessary. They said, after the short time they had spent in the examination, and not having taken the means to ascertain accurately their value which had since been taken,

they only valued them at 43,700*l*. But they said, though that might be their value yet they were of opinion some allowances should be made for collecting so speedily this valuable set of jewels, which must have occasioned very extraordinary demands on the person procuring them. The risks also which attended the case were many, and he should not lessen them by stating, that it was not from every man nor at every sale that Mr. Jefferys could collect jewels of such magnitude and value, especially on the shortest notice, and which furnished one of the most brilliant assortments that ever was worn by any crowned head in Europe. He would venture to say, that no assortment of jewels, either with respect to brilliancy or setting, were finer, or more beautiful. They were approved of by all whose approbation was fit to be had, and were worthy of the use to which they were adapted.

Mr. Jefferys waited for the judgement of the Commissioners, who added 1200*l*. to the supposed value at which they had been estimated, which made 44,900*l*.



The Act of Parliament gave the option in this case to the party, either to abide by the judgement of the Commissioners, or to lay his claim before a Jury of his country, as Mr. Jefferys had done. Nothing but an arbitrary Parliament could have deprived the subject of the right of bringing his claim before a jury of his country ; and, therefore, this Act did not take away that right, but allowed him to come into a Court of Justice to have the cause tried in the common form ; and the only principle on which this cause could be tried was, what these jewels were fairly worth to the wearer ; and what they ought to be estimated at to such a wearer, attended with all the circumstances of *inconvenience, risk, and expense*, to him who furnished the commodity. — That was the principle on which the law of England would ascertain a question of this sort.

Mr. Jefferys had an interest not to enter into any controversy, not to stir up any dispute, but to abide by the judgement of the Commissioners. But a man, who had engaged in trade, and had various difficulties, must take care they

did not turn out to be an incumbrance to him by his not having a fair profit; by which alone he could stand. No man could be supposed to go through the drudgeries of trade to oblige others, however illustrious they might be. Every man went into trade to make his own fortune, and to give independence to those that followed him, and who might not have the same means of procuring it for themselves; and, therefore, what he asked for Mr. Jefferys was, that he should have what these jewels were fairly worth. Mr. Jefferys consulted his friends, and those who knew the various difficulties he had been put to on that short notice, which was recognized by those gentlemen who were called in by the Commissioners. He consulted the most eminent persons in the trade, and the result was, that there was a great difference between the real value of these jewels and that at which they had been estimated by the Gentlemen who had been called in by the Commissioners.

They would inform the Jury, that they were estimated at Fifty Thousand Nine Hundred and Ninety-Seven Pounds Ten Shillings, *without taking into their consideration any of the cir-*

*cumstances or difficulties under which they were procured.* It was very material that this estimate had been made on the bare inspection of the jewels, judging by their weight and according to their brilliancy, of which they were qualified to judge from their skill in the trade.

*That estimate was formed without taking into their consideration the particular circumstances attending this case.* If then, effect was given to the judgement of the Commissioners, by adding Twelve Hundred Pounds for the difficulties attending this particular contract; and if that sum were added to the former, it would amount to Fifty-Two Thousand One Hundred and Ninety-Seven Pounds Ten Shillings. Besides that, Mr. Jefferys had been obliged to pay out of his pocket Two Thousand Pounds in hard money, as interest upon the securities he had given to those persons from whom he had purchased the diamonds: and no man living could possibly exist upon the diamonds that were in his shop, till they were converted into money. Mr. Jefferys was examined as to what were the particular profits of his trade. He said that was a question which

tradesmen in general were not disposed to answer; he, however, had no secrets;—he stated what his profit was, and it was no more than that of others who dealt in the same commodity. A man who deals in diamonds must have a different profit from one who deals in brooms. In the first place, it requires an immense capital to furnish raw materials for the manufacture and trade. Secondly, it requires persons eminent for their skill and of fine taste, who must be paid great salaries. Tradesmen in the situation of Mr. Jefferys must also have persons in whom he could safely repose the greatest trust. He was obliged to live in the most expensive part of the town, and must have a house fitted up for people of fashion to call on him in the line of his business.—That was necessarily attended with heavy rents and the expenses of servants. It was also necessary to take into calculation the various drawbacks to which all trades were subject, but to which a trade of this description was peculiarly subject. Besides that, Mr. Jefferys, by the form of the late Act of Parliament, was not to be paid in the same manner as if he had received a judgement in the common form. Here he could sue out no execu-

tion ; he would receive prompt payment in part, and for the remainder he must take debentures out of the Exchequer, which bore a discount. All these circumstances were to be taken into consideration.

To conclude, (said Mr. Erskine,) I wish to state Mr. Jefferys to be *an honorable and respectable tradesman*, and I trust he will go out of this court so. It is a most flattering and satisfactory thing to me to be able to state that so he is considered by all those who are concerned in this contract.

Gentlemen, Mr. Jefferys desires to have nothing but that which the fair profits of the trade entitle him to have. If there was the smallest difficulty in ascertaining the real weight and value of any one of these jewels, and if a cloud were to be thrown over your verdict by any man of rank or skill in this trade, (these jewels being set,) I believe Mr. Jefferys would have no objection to its being unset ; and, if there was found the smallest defalcation or the least impropriety in his conduct, he would be glad to have it corrected by your verdict.

The first witness on the part of the Plaintiff was Mr. W. Sharp, who said he had been a Diamond Broker these twenty years; he believed he was more largely concerned in the purchase of diamonds than any man; he had seen the jewels that were purchased for Her Royal Highness, and had accurately examined them for the space of five hours; he examined them stone by stone, and apprehended no man could collect such an assortment of jewels without purchasing a number of stones, which could not afterwards come into the assortment; he estimated their value, without taking into consideration any of those circumstances that had been stated, at Fifty Thousand Nine Hundred and Ninety Seven Pounds Ten Shillings.

On cross-examination he said, that jewels were now higher by Ten or Fifteen per Cent. than when Mr. Jefferys received this order; it being known so many diamonds were to be purchased it raised the price in the market. If he had had this order to execute he did not know what he should have charged per Cent. He did all his business by commission; he believed jewellers had sometimes a very large, and at other times, a very small, profit; he did not know whether Twelve, Fifteen, or Thirty Five per Cent. was a sufficient profit; if the price of the commodity was raised in the market in consequence of the publicity of the order, the profit would rise in the same ratio.

The other three Gentlemen, who were called on behalf of the Plaintiff, were Mr. D. Eliason, Mr. Z. Levi, and

Mr. R. Dugdale, two of whom are Diamond Merchants, in a very great way of business, and the third a Jeweller; they had examined these jewels, and all agreed in the estimate which we have stated. Their evidence was very nearly the same with that given by Mr. Sharp. Their valuation was made on the 13th of January last, then diamonds were estimated at the price this commodity bore at the time they were purchased. Mr. Eliason said he would not have undertaken such an order unless he had been permitted to charge whatever he thought proper, because the market would rise. If the order were now to be executed, it could not be done for less; and it would be a difficult matter, and almost impossible, to execute that order at the present moment.

Mr. Garrow, as Counsel for the Defendants, on the record said, there were very few causes that came for discussion under circumstances similar to the present, because the defendants had no more interest in the subject than any one of the Jury. They had a public duty of the last importance cast upon them; and, however painful and distressing the discharge of it might be under certain circumstances, yet they were bound to meet their situation manfully, and to perform their duty under all its difficulties. Their anxiety was to lay before the Jury in evidence those grounds upon which they were to form their judgement, and when it was formed the Defendants would be most perfectly satisfied. He had no instructions, and it would have been extraordinary if he had had any, considering the quarter whence they came, reflecting on the

**CONDUCT OR CHARACTER** of Mr. Jefferys. He was not instructed to state to the Jury that he forfeited his pretensions to the character of a **FAIR** and **HONORABLE** tradesman.

The question for the Jury to try was this:—Under the existing circumstances, was the demand, which Mr. Jefferys had made against the estate of His Royal Highness, such a demand as could possibly be sustained in a Court of Justice? He said, he, for one, had no difficulty in stating, not only that he thought the Commissioners justified in taking the opinion of the Jury on that question, but that they would have been totally undeserving of that confidence, which the Legislature had thought they might safely repose in them, if they had not put it into the state of inquiry which that day had produced. His Learned Friend began his address by observing, that it was fit in the outset to remove any prejudice that might have crept into this business, and he said this question was by no means in contemplation at the time the Act of Parliament took place. Mr. Garrow said he did not agree with him in that, because the Act of Parliament intended to make a suitable provision for the Illustrious Personages who were the objects of it; and, to remove these embarrassments, which the generosity of His Royal Highness had subjected him to, he had been graciously pleased to desire, that a certain fund might be appropriated in the hands of those Trustees for the payment of any debts that might be brought forward, and such as His Royal Highness ought to be fairly and honestly called on to pay. Under these circumstances, what was the duty of these Commissioners?



To receive the claim of Mr. Jefferys and of all others, to examine its extent, to judge of its propriety, and if they approved of it to put it in a course of payment. On the contrary, if they had such grounds as to induce them to think it exorbitant, then to tender to Mr. Jefferys what they thought an ample compensation, and if he was not satisfied with that, to do what they had done that day.

The four persons, who had been examined before them, were cognizant in this branch of trade. Of them, as of Mr. Jefferys he should say *nothing disrespectful*; but it was a matter fit to be observed, without the least stain on the credit of Mr. Jefferys, that all of those persons were employed in the market for procuring those sort of articles. He did not suppose the verdict of the Jury would pass, on the supposition that they came there to misrepresent facts. He should state what the conduct of the Commissioners had been, and what they would do after the Jury had given their verdict.

His Learned Friend had observed, that the persons, who had been examined by the Commissioners, had themselves stated, that, according to a cursory examination, they had formed their estimate. He said there never was an estimate taken under circumstances more auspicious, because it was not originally taken with a view to pare down Mr. Jefferys's demand; but it was made for the satisfaction of the Commissioners, that they might know how to go to Parliament. These Gentlemen would inform the Jury of the precise value of all the jewels, and of the profit they

had allowed to the Plaintiff. They had examined them all, stone by stone. When they had examined the size and weight of a stone, they had not got to the end of their journey. It was also necessary to examine its brilliancy, to detect its flaws, and find out its specks. His Learned Friend had told the Jury (and he dared to say it was true) that these jewels had given the most ample and perfect satisfaction to all to whom satisfaction ought to be given on the subject. It was not a pleasant thing for him to state, that every part of these jewels was not as perfect as every body would wish they had been. They were not then in a Court of Compliments, but in a Court of Law, where justice and truth were to be their guides. He was bound to state to them, because he should prove it, that on comparing some of these jewels furnished by Mr. Jefferys with some others, they were in many instances vastly superior to those of Mr. Jefferys, and in one instance he had valued a stone at 800*l.* which another Gentleman would have been willing to furnish for 600*l.* and have given twelve months credit, and should have thought he had made a tolerable bargain. The Commissioners had dealt with Mr. Jefferys as they had done with every other tradesman. They had submitted his bill to persons of skill and experience in his trade, and they had selected the most eminent and most skilful. But they had taken another course to satisfy their own consciences, and the Jury might be surprised, and very much satisfied, to see the two modes they had pursued, and which came to be pretty much the same in the result. He wished the Jury to give Mr. Jefferys a fair and honorable profit for the commodity he had furnished.

Mr. Levi, one of the witnesses called on the part of the Plaintiff, said, that if he had gone to market and purchased these jewels, and immediately delivered them over to the person for whom they were purchased, as was the case with the Prince of Wales's orders, Ten per Cent. was a profit which would have satisfied him.

Mr. Garrow said, whatever dropped from Mr. Erskine fell with great weight. He believed, with him, that what had been laid out on that most superb assortment of jewels was one of the last expenses high-spirited Englishmen would wish to save. He did not desire the Jury to abate one shilling of whatever was necessary for the comfort, the splendor, and dignity, of the Illustrious Personages for whom these articles were furnished. All that he was anxious about was, that this demand might not be made subservient to the private interests of a private individual. His witnesses had allowed to Mr. Jefferys a profit of 16 per Cent.; and, after all, there would be a deduction of 10,000*l.* from Mr. Jefferys's demand of 54,685*l.* He asked whether, if the Commissioners had complied with that demand, they would not have been guilty of a total dereliction of their duty? whether they would not have been unworthy of any confidence? and whether they ought not to have been stigmatized by all honest men? They would certainly have merited every opprobrious epithet if they had submitted to the payment of that demand, when persons most eminent for their skill, honor, and integrity, told them 10,000*l.* ought to be deducted, and that after all they would leave a profit of 16 per Cent. to Mr. Jefferys on his commodity.

The Jury would leave out of the question all circumstances of risk, payment, and of the probability of a delay in payment, because they did not belong to it. In whatever situation Mr. Jefferys might have been with other contracts, 25,000*l.* was at his call from the hour these jewels were purchased, had his charge been of a size to have authorized the Commissioners to have paid it; and he would also have had debentures carrying interest for the remainder of his demand. It was one of the imperfections of the Act of Parliament, (and it had more than one,) that it did not authorize the Commissioners to make a tender; but the moment this cause was decided, Mr. Jefferys might go to the Exchequer and receive 25,000*l.* in hard cash. The witnesses for the Plaintiff were shy respecting the profits of this trade; but Mr. Jefferys himself, when examined upon oath before the Commissioners, had declared, the usual profits of his trade were 12 per Cent. Was that the profit he had charged on this order? He had charged 30 per Cent.\* Mr. Garrow here stated some figures, but did not wish the Jury to decide the cause upon them; he only meant to use them by way of argument, to shew the difference between the profit that had been asked in this case and the ordinary profits of the trade. The sum charged to His Royal Highness by Mr. Jefferys for this assortment of jewels, was 54,685*l.*; from that sum he proposed to subtract 30 per Cent. and afterwards he could add what was fit to be added. Thirty per Cent. amounted to 16,405*l.* 10*s.* If that sum was deducted from Mr. Jefferys's

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\* The gross profits, independent of any deductions for interest of money, insurance on the Prince's life, and other contingent expenses.

demand, it would leave the sum of 38,279*l.* 10*s.* as the prime cost of these jewels. If Mr. Jefferys, therefore, only received that sum, he would have no profit; but the Jury would give him a profit. Suppose he received the common profits of the trade, 12 per Cent. that would amount to 6,562*l.* and which, being added to the prime cost, would amount to 44,841*l.* 14*s.* which sum, when deducted from the Plaintiff's demand, left 9,843*l.* 6*s.*

These figures stand thus :

	<i>£</i>	<i>s.</i>
Mr. Jefferys's demand . . . . .	54,685	0
Thirty per cent. deducted . . . .	16,405	10
Leaves the prime cost . . . . .	38,279	10
Twelve per cent. added . . . . .	6,562	4
Makes the sum of . . . . .	44,841	14

Difference between Mr. Jefferys's demand and a profit of twelve per cent. *£*9,843 6*s.*

He had only used these figures *by way of argument*, and did not consider them as the most proper basis upon which the jury ought to form their judgement, though they went a great way to shew, that the deductions, which had been made by those gentlemen who had been called in by the Commissioners, was right:

Mr. Garrow concluded with the character and situation of the witnesses he should call, and the nature of the evidence they would give. As he had before observed, he said, the Commissioners had only wished to satisfy the jury they had acted properly in the arduous and difficult situa-

tion in which they were placed. Not pretending to infallibility, but knowing they were subject to error, they did not desire to have the judgement of the jury on other or different materials than those that should be laid before them. He might observe, without offence, that the jury, as representing the country, were under the most solemn obligations of an oath to decide between Mr. Jefferys and the public. If they should be of opinion, that Mr. Jefferys, as a fair and honorable tradesman, was entitled to the last shilling of the demand he had made, the Commissioners would feel no chagrin; they would experience no disappointment; and he was certain, whatever their verdict might be, it would be most satisfactory to all concerned.

Mr. J. CRIPPS was the first witness called on the part of the Defendants. He said he had been fifty years in the jewellery trade, and had examined the jewels in question with Mr. Du Val and Mr. Francillon in May last. They examined them article by article, and their estimate amounted to £43,700. His mode of examination was by taking the large stones of the ear-rings and the centre stones of the necklace. These were capital stones, and not easily procured. They then went on examining all the other capital diamonds. As to some of the other stones, they were very fine, and he had some diamonds of the same description with them, and with which he compared them, and by that means they were able to ascertain their value as nearly as could possibly be done. In their estimate, they allowed Mr. Jefferys about £16 per cent. They included in that the price of setting, which in the trade was called the fashion.

On cross-examination, he said he thought he could execute a large order as easily as a small one. He had no doubt but the marriage of the Prince of Wales had an effect upon the market. Except five stones, he should not have thought it difficult to have executed that order. He did not see any necessity for purchasing jewels which were not wanted. *No man in England ever received an order like this.* He had always thought some allowance ought to be made for collecting such an assortment of Jewels in so short a time, and which must have occasioned very exorbitant demands on the person procuring them. He thought that allowance should be £1200. He should be glad to furnish such an assortment of jewels at the amount at which they had estimated the jewels in question. They had examined them for nearly five hours.

The evidence of Mr. Du Val and Mr. Francillon was very nearly to the same effect with that of Mr. Cripps; but they thought the Commissioners might have given Mr. Jefferys £40,000 as an act of liberality, in order to prevent litigation. But they all three agreed in opinion, that the fair reasonable value of the jewels, without taking into account any collateral circumstance, was £43,700,

Mr. ERSKINE in reply observed, that, unless his judgment deceived him very much, (and he was ready to admit it frequently did, where he had nothing to draw it out of the course in which he had been engaged on one side of a controversy, and where his feelings and duty were naturally

involved,) he thought he had never stated, in the course of his professional life, a clearer case in a court of justice. His Learned Friend had been pleased to observe, that what fell from him on some subjects fell from a height; if he could think so, he should speak much louder on a subject which concerned the public than he then intended. Convinced that nothing that came from him could have any such effect, he should forbear making any observations, except touching this cause. His Learned Friend had not stated him quite correctly when he said he (Mr. Erskine) had delivered it as his opinion, that there was no expense which the people of this country would so little grudge as that which gave lustre, dignity, and splendor, to the first magistrate of the realm. He stated it for the reasons which he gave. He stated (though his Learned Friend did not remember that qualification) that it was because it went to the encouragement of the arts and the advancement of manufactures, to the creation of all those various intercourses, which not only adorned, but were of advantage, to society, and without which, perhaps, a great nation could scarcely exist; and certainly he meant to throw out, by a side-wind, that there were other expenses which the high spirit of Englishmen would, he believed, be very little disposed to brook. It had been observed, that Mr. Jefferys was entitled to be treated with the same indulgence and liberality as if the order had been given by any Duke, Earl, or Gentleman of Fortune. But, where was the Duke, Earl, or Gentleman of Fortune, (unless he happened to fatten on the bowels of the country,) who could afford to give such an order as this, which was necessary to give illustration to



a country. That some men gave such orders which made the tradesmen of this country pine, might be true, and that, among other reasons, might excite an indignant spirit in the people of England; but, when an order was given by the Heir-Apparent of the Crown, *could Mr. Jefferys with decency refuse to execute it?* Had it been given by a subject, he might have desired to look at his rent-roll; he might have considered how far it was wise or prudent to have any thing to do with it: but, when a contract descended to an English subject as from the crown, a man would not shrink from the execution of it, for fear of undergoing hazards, which, from other circumstances, and a different situation, he might be obliged to undergo. It was natural to suppose, if Mr. Jefferys was able to carry on his business, he could have no objection to enter into a contract with the public. He said he called the Prince of Wales the Public, because he represented the public. Though no man was bound to divulge all the secrets of his trade, when Mr. Jefferys came to ask for his money, he had been compelled to do what no tradesman had ever been compelled to do between subject and subject. The Learned Counsel desired it might be remembered, that he was not contending there ought to be any difference whether this order came from a Duke, an Earl, from the Commissioners themselves, or from them as representing the Prince of Wales. But let it not be said that the Jury were to weigh and decide what this gentleman had a right to expect, *abstracted from the conditions in which he stood, the circumstances attending the contract, the various difficulties that attended the execution of it, and*

*the species of command that fell on him to execute. If a tradesman in a great way of business had shrunk from the execution of such an order, it would not have made very much for his advantage in the ordinary course of his business. The next observation he had to make, and which he knew must make an impression on the minds of the Jury, was this, they were not here in a case where a man had sold diamonds to the amount of 5,000*l.* which might have been purchased at any shop in the Strand or Fleet-street: such a cause could not last half an hour. It would only have been necessary to call two or three witnesses, who were skilled in the trade, to ask what such a set of diamonds were reasonably worth, and the answer would have decided the cause: but, in the present case, it had been admitted by the witnesses on both sides, that Mr. Jefferys had furnished *such an assortment of Jewels as no tradesman ever did; that he had such a contract as no other man ever had to execute; that he had difficulties which no other jeweller ever had; and that he was subject to a competition to which no other man could be subject*; and yet, with all this novelty, and though he stood in an unparalleled situation, this cause, it seems, was to be decided as if the order had been executed in the ordinary course of his business. It had been said, that was not a Court of Compliments; — God forbid it should! It was a Court of Justice and of Truth, where every fair claimant had a right to expect his just demand would be enforced. The Learned Counsel next made some observations on the testimonies of the witnesses produced by the Defendants. In making their estimate of the jewels in question, they had compared some of them*

with some of their own that were similar, and by that means had judged of their value. He conceived, by such a mode of proceeding, their judgement was abundantly apt to be deceived. It was among the infirmities of human nature to consider what was our own as better than that which belonged to any other. God Almighty had so made man, and we could not change him.

These Gentlemen, on looking at these jewels, found certain specks in them ; and he had no doubt, but if they had been ordered to examine the most glorious of all the bodies in the solar system,—the sun himself,—they would also have found fault with him for having specks.

His next observation was, that Mr. Jefferys was never called in to disprove what were alleged to be the imperfections in his Jewels. He submitted whether it would not have been candid to have given Mr. Jefferys notice, that they were about to examine the defects of these Jewels, that he also might have sent men of skill to attend the examination. In that case, judgement would have been opposed to judgement, and skill to skill, and justice would have held the balance between them. He said, he wished to speak of the Defendants' witnesses with respect, and he hoped it would be understood, that he was retained in that cause to depreciate no man. But who were these witnesses ? They were arbitrators picked out by the Defendants ; they were called in *ex parte*, — not approved of by Mr. Jefferys, not called in by him.

The Learned Counsel submitted to the Jury that there was a gross contradiction between the certificates, signed by the witnesses for the Defendants, and the evidence they had that day given. They said, in their certificates, "We have inspected the Jewels furnished for Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, and now in Her Royal Highness's possession, and, as far as we are able to judge in the short time we have had to form our opinion, we think their value 43,700/."

The first remark he should make on that certificate was this: It happened rather singularly that on the first blush of the thing, without weighing, without particular examination, without setting their eminent skill to work, they should come to a specific value; and that afterwards, when they did set their wits to work, and examined all these Jewels, their estimate should be *exactly the same*.— If a man's judgement was not fastened down by any prejudices, and if he did not consider himself as a party, what were the chances against his coming to the same value of these Jewels, when he looked at them superficially and after examining them with the greatest care and accuracy?— Yet the second time these gentlemen made the estimate, they made it amount to the *same as they did at first*. The witnesses for the Defendants had said, that some allowance should be made for collecting so speedily so valuable a set of Jewels, which must have occasioned very extraordinary demands on the person procuring them. This, they said, we are unable to estimate, as well as the risk that may have attended the order. These gentlemen now said, in their

examination before his Lordship and the gentlemen of the Jury, that they meant that allowance as a mere douceur, as an act of liberality, to prevent litigation. But the Jury would recollect his Learned Friend had told them, that estimate was originally taken not with a view to pare down Mr. Jefferys's demand, but in order to ascertain the value of those Jewels to the Commissioners, that they might know how to go to Parliament.

After many other ingenious remarks on the testimony of the Defendants' witnesses, Mr. Erskine concluded his reply with the following observations :—

I still retain for the Prince of Wales the same affection I ever had in the earlier part of my life. As to those irregularities which have led him into debt, I have no doubt but he will one day most amply repay the People of England by the protection of their just rights and liberties. It was for the defence of the British Constitution that the House of Hanover was first called to the Throne of these Kingdoms; and, therefore, the people of this country have a religious right to expect, that the Princes of that House will *ever continue the faithful guardians of their rights and privileges.*

The Lord-Chief-Justice, in his excellent summing up to the Jury, observed, the single question they were to ascertain by their verdict was,—what these wares and merchandizes were reasonably

worth? Whatever became of this cause, he thought the Commissioners, who were men of the highest honor, and had a public duty cast upon them, were entitled to the thanks of every individual. His Lordship next directed the attention of the Jury to the most material parts of this cause; after which they withdrew for a short time, and then brought in a Verdict for the Plaintiff for FIFTY THOUSAND NINE HUNDRED AND NINETY-SEVEN POUNDS TEN SHILLINGS.

Mr. Jefferys's other claims on the Prince, of 24,700*l.* for Bond-debts, and 9,331*l.* 9*s.* for Jewels sold to His Royal Highness, as presents to the Queen and Royal Family, were admitted by the Commissioners, and Verdicts taken accordingly.

The amount of the Verdicts together were 85,028*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.*; 25,000*l.* of which was paid in cash, and the residue was, after being subject to a deduction of 10 per cent. paid by debentures, due at such distant periods as to be subject to a discount on an average of 20 per cent. making together a deduction of nearly 30 per cent.

THE END.







FACTS ARE STUBBORN THINGS.

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# A LETTER

TO

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS

THE

PRINCE OF WALES.

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By NATHANIEL JEFFERYS.

*Dedicated (without permission) to Mrs. FITZHERBERT.*

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“ His Majesty could not, however, expect or desire the assistance of this House, but on a well grounded expectation, that the Prince will avoid contracting any debts in future; and His Majesty has the satisfaction to observe, that the Prince has given THE FULLEST ASSURANCES OF HIS DETERMINATION to confine his future expenses *within* his income,—and has settled a plan and fixed an order to those expenses, which it was trusted would effectually secure the execution of his intention!”—*King's Message, delivered to the House of Commons in 1787.*

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to

MRS. FITZHERBERT.

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MADAM,

THE important sacrifice offered by the Prince of Wales, at the shrine of his *friendship* for you, cannot but create in your grateful mind a strong feeling of interest in whatever concerns His Royal Highness.

I therefore dedicate to you the following Pages; and, with all the respect due to your distinguished character, as an example of morality and decorum,

I have the honor to be,

Your obedient servant,

N. JEFFERYS.

MISS FITZHERBERT.

A

THE T. E. R.

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Sir,

THE sad truths which I was compelled by the  
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Royal Highness, of the want of generosity,  
liberality, and justice, which so pre-eminently  
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A

# LETTER,

&c. &c.

SIR,

**T**HE sad truths which I was compelled, by the most urgent necessity, to relate, in a Pamphlet, intituled, “A Review of the Conduct of your Royal Highness,” of the want of generosity, liberality, and justice, which so pre-eminently marked your Royal Highness’s conduct to me, have drawn upon my character attacks in anonymous publications, so destitute of truth, and so injurious to my reputation, that your Royal Highness, I presume, cannot, and I am confident the world will not,

be surprized at my anxiety to vindicate my character, the only remaining hope of my support after the ruin to my fortune, occasioned by my fatal confidence in your Royal Highness.

I should have hoped, Sir, that your Royal Highness would have considered the destruction of my property and the consequent distress of my family a sufficient sacrifice, without suffering me to be pursued with such a persevering rancour, as I have experienced, by writers assuming the sanction of your name, in publications issuing from the press of your Royal Highness's printer.

Notwithstanding what I have suffered, Sir, it was my wish to have dropped for ever the painful subject of the unparalleled injustice of my case; but I daily feel such injurious effects from the shameful falsehoods which have been circulated, as to render the step I now take, a measure of indispensable necessity.

Viewing it in this light, Sir, I shall not only refute the falsehood of the attacks made upon my character, but at the same time endeavor

to prove, by an examination of the character and conduct of your Royal Highness, from your first entrance into public life to the present moment, how much the reflections levelled at me, by the pretended friends of your Royal Highness, are calculated to promote discussions, which cannot be otherwise than unpleasant to your feelings.

I shall, without doubt, Sir, for such a line of conduct, be accused of attacking your Royal Highness in indecent language; but is the indecency of my language, Sir, equal to the indecency with which I have been treated? Are such sufferings as I have experienced to be borne without complaint? Or can birth or titles sanction a want of feeling to inferiors?

With respect to the motives which urge me to this publication, they are justified by the occasion which excites them; and, reverencing the laws of my country, with the constitution for my guide, I have nothing to fear; though the abject and the corrupt, who are alike ready to

flatter and betray, will affect to condemn the freedom of my language.

If all that has been so maliciously and falsely said of me by the pretended friends of your Royal Highness, could be proved to be true, it would not, in the opinion of the thinking part of the community, be considered as any justification of the oppression under which I have suffered, in return for the unlimited confidence I have so unhappily placed in your Royal Highness's repeated assurances of support and protection.

Oh! how wretched  
Is that poor man's fate, that hangs on Princes favors!

SHAKESPEARE.

If answers to what I have stated in my Review of the Conduct of your Royal Highness were to flow from the press till every type was exhausted, they could not refute the assertions which I have made, as I have most scrupulously adhered to facts, which can neither be palliated nor denied; and, if your Royal Highness's anonymous defenders, who, with more



apparent regard to their interest than to their characters, have attempted to apologize (in the unbounded abuse of me) for the injustice of which I complain, had sufficiently considered the strong ground I had taken, with truth on my side, I do not think they would have hazarded a contest, from which your Royal Highness, in the opinion of the world, has derived such little benefit, and your champions as little honor.

Before I proceed, Sir, to expose the gross falsehoods, in the attacks made upon my character, I shall claim of your Royal Highness the privilege which is sanctioned by the usage of the courts in the case of evidence,—that of an examination into the character, circumstances, and motives, which may be supposed to influence witnesses in a cause.

In the present case, Sir, I shall have no difficulty in making it appear to your Royal Highness, that the assertions, so boldly made of that which never existed, with a view to injure my reputation, derive but little credit from the character of my accusers.

The first, Sir, who entered the lists as he says to vindicate the honor of your Royal Highness, signing the real initials of his name to a string of the grossest falsehoods, is a Frenchman, who was formerly a clerk in the house of Mr. Thelluson, in the City. After quitting Mr. Thelluson's service, he married a lady of fortune, to whose notice he was introduced by Mr. John King, of well known fame: he changed his French name to that of the English one of the lady whom he had married:—he has, since that period, seen many vicissitudes in life; but, as it is not my intention to return the ill usage I have received by a similar line of conduct, I shall merely mention two circumstances, for the purpose of bringing this person to your Royal Highness's recollection—that of his having been sentenced to pay a fine of 300*l.* for an assault on Mr. Birch, the surgeon, in the pit of the Opera-House; and, at another time, a fine of 100*l.* for spitting in the face of a gentleman, in the presence of a judge, during the progress of a judicial inquiry.

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The next of your Royal Highness's champions is a Jew: (I do not mention this man's

religion as a reproach : we are told, Sir, from the **HIGHEST AUTHORITY**, that "there were dwelling at Jerusalem, Jews, devout men, out of **EVERY NATION UNDER HEAVEN ;**" and my own experience of the kind and benevolent disposition of a person of this persuasion,\* has proved to me, that a good Jew is more to be esteemed than a BAD CHRISTIAN;)—his pamphlet is composed of the materials furnished in the *vindication*, to which I have before alluded.

I think I need not say any thing more to afford your Royal Highness a correct idea of the value of this Israelitish defender of your fame, than to mention, as a proof of his disinterestedness in the service of your Royal Highness, that, previously to the publication of his pamphlet, he absolutely consulted several of his friends, as to the side most adviseable to take, upon the score of eventual profit,—whether to write in support of, or in opposition to me!—What the opinion of his friends might be, I know not ; but the prudent Jew adopted

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\* Mr. L—— n L——y, a merchant in the City.

that line of conduct, which, I have no doubt, has been attended with its reward.

The next in succession, Sir, is a knight-errant, who, with the true spirit of chivalry, justifies the whole of your Royal Highness's conduct, and particularly THE CONNECTION WITH MRS. FITZHERBERT!—of whom he speaks in the terms of AMIABLE, CHARMING, INTERESTING, &c. with a warmth becoming the gallantry of his order—a *simple knight*.—This prejudice of the Knight, in favour of the infallibility of Princes, is, I presume, to be accounted for, in the circumstance of his being born and educated in a Court.\* The public are indebted to the literary turn of this gentleman for the revival of many of Joe Miller's best jokes, which might have been lost but for the plentiful quotations of them in the various tours which he has published. Of his claim to respect, as an author, both for *matter and veracity*, a reference to his works will afford the best proof.

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\* Round - Court, in the Strand, where the Knight's

Father kept a little music-shop.

Another advocate in the cause of your Royal Highness, and the last I shall notice, has given me an opportunity to join issue with him, on a question of considerable importance to your Royal Highness, and of much greater to the nation.

He acknowledges, that *whatever degrades the station of Princes tends to undermine Royalty.*

In this I most cordially agree; and, thus agreed, I request the favor of him to say, who it is that *undermines Royalty*? Princes, who forfeit their claim to esteem by a gross and unpardonable violation of their engagements with the people; or the man who would wish to see them awakened to a sense of their duty, and act like honest men, who, aware of the dangers to be apprehended from their criminal neglect of public opinion to the peace of society as well as to their own personal safety, would prevent, by well-merited reproof, a more coercive correction?

The question, though important, does not

require deliberation: the answer your Royal Highness will find in the melancholy history of the fugitive French Princes.

I shall now, Sir, proceed to a refutation of the accusations and reflections upon my character, of which I have so much reason to complain, and from the effects of which I daily feel a most serious injury.

The first is on the subject of misfortune, not of crime:—it is, that I have been subject to a commission of bankruptcy:—is it possible, Sir, in a pretended defence of your Royal Highness's HONOR, to cast reflections of scorn and derision upon me, on such an account, without at the same time causing the severest reflection to arise, in every honest mind, upon the conduct of your Royal Highness? an unlimited confidence in whom, having led me to embark in your service such a vast amount of property, was the ground of a misfortune I have so much cause to lament, and which your advocates, in the abusive language they adopt upon the occasion, seem to consider as a matter of triumph!—Is, then, such a calamity, arising

From such a source, a proper subject of derision from those, who call themselves your Royal Highness's friends?

Your rank, Sir, in life, places you above the possibility of such a misfortune, and your feelings should place you above the indelicacy of countenancing reflections upon a calamity, from which, without any merit of your own, you are exempt.—Reflections upon such a subject, under the sanction and influence of your Royal Highness's name, cannot be otherwise than disgusting to every feeling mind,—more particularly to the commercial part of the community.—it is a misfortune, which many men in the City of London (now of importance as to wealth and character) have, in the vicissitudes of the world, at some former period of their lives, experienced, and to which every man in trade, however wealthy at one time, may be subject at another.

Though your Royal Highness cannot be a bankrupt, you have experienced a situation too nearly resembling it to render reflections upon bankruptcy, in a right view of the subject,

gratifying to your feelings or flattering to your character.

Upon the last application to Parliament to pay the debts of your Royal Highness, amounting to more than SIX HUNDRED THOUSAND POUNDS, a commission was instituted by the authority of Parliament not very dissimilar to a commission of bankruptcy, and commissioners appointed with powers not materially differing from the assignees of a bankrupt.—These commissioners were, by the authority of Parliament, to take the entire management of your Royal Highness's property and income; over which, (from a recollection of your departure from your former engagement,) by a solemn act of the Legislature, with the Royal assent of His Majesty, you were no longer permitted to have a control!

The payment made by these Commissioners to your Royal Highness's creditors of a sum less than the amount of their demands, can be considered in no other light than as a dividend; and the discharge obtained by your Royal Highness, upon this occasion, from your cre-



ditors of all farther claims upon the property of your Royal Highness, bears a very strong resemblance to the certificate of a bankrupt, with only this difference, that the latter must be obtained by the consent of the creditors, and the certificate or *discharge* of your Royal Highness (if the word is more palatable) was procured by compulsion, the Commissioners refusing to pay the sums tendered to the Creditors, but on condition of their signing an entire discharge!

I think, Sir, I have, by this comparison of your Royal Highness's situation and my own, succeeded in establishing the fact that

### BANKRUPTCY IS NOT CONFINED TO TRADERS.

I beg now to ask your Royal Highness, is your dignity advanced, or your feelings consulted, by the unmanly and abusive reflections so profusely cast upon me by your officious defenders, who have provoked comparisons and discussions, which would not otherwise have been brought forward?—The ill-timed zeal of your Royal Highness's friends justifies the observation of a Roman Catholic Priest, in answer to the invectives of the late Bishop Horsley.

against the doctrine of purgatory;—"that his Lordship might go farther and fare worse."

To pursue the subject, Sir, it is strongly urged against me that I did not pay Twenty Shillings in the Pound. Did your Royal Highness pay Twenty Shillings in the Pound?—No, Sir; if that had been the case, I should not have experienced the misfortune for which I am so insulted by the persons employed to write in your *defence*, as they call it: but, Sir, I have done what your Royal Highness has *not done*. I have endeavored by every effort of diligence and economy, to procure the means of making up the deficiencies, and have omitted no opportunity, which my limited means have afforded to make up the full payment of Twenty Shillings in the Pound to many of my Creditors:—this fact need not rest upon my assertion only; many of my Creditors are ready to confirm the truth of my assertion, and, indignant at the treatment I have received, have repeatedly offered their interference.

What, Sir, has been the conduct of your Royal Highness since the period of your com-

*mission?* When the Act passed, you expressed the greatest indignation, that you were deprived of the means of paying your Creditors the full amount of their demands; and, with a generosity of expression declared your firm determination, that, to effect so desirable an object, you would lay aside the dignity and state your Royal Highness's rank entitled you to, and appropriate the savings from such a plan for the benefit of your Creditors. A part of your engagement your Royal Highness has performed with the most sacred regard to your *magnanimous declaration*,—that of *laying aside the dignity and state requisite to your exalted station!* A very small portion of the vast sums so improvidently lavished by your Royal Highness on unnecessary buildings and expenses at Brighton and at Carlton-House, would have been more than sufficient for the full discharge of every former deficiency to your suffering Creditors, would have been a source of happiness to many families enduring the most severe distress on your account, and have held up the character of your Royal Highness to that degree of estimation, so desirable for the interest of the nation, and your own fame.

To abuse and vilify my character, Sir, is the main object of your defenders. By one writer I am charged with pride, in aspiring to the company of my superiors, to the neglect of my own connections and friends, in the giddy pursuit of ambition; by another, I am described as too humble and low minded, in the choice of companions and associates.

Upon the latter charge, of an improper choice of associates, these *defenders* of your Royal Highness had better not say too much, as their reflections in the opinion of the public may apply more closely to a quarter for which they were not intended than to me. In short, there is scarcely an item in the whole catalogue of vices and follies, to which human nature is subject, of which, in the opinion of my opponents, I am not guilty; the whole of which is to be accounted for in very few words,—that *I lent your Royal Highness money at your earnest request, and dared to ask you for it; and that your Royal Highness, having made promises which were not performed, I presumed to remind you of them.*

“This is the head and front of my offending.”—*Shakespeare.*

As an additional mode of *defending*, as it is called, the character of your Royal Highness, I am branded with every vile epithet which the most immoral life could merit, founded on a relation of anecdotes and tales which never existed, and of which I defy the proof; but, supposing them for an instant to be true, can such very gross reflections on the presumed immorality of my life be read as a *defence* to your Royal Highness, without exciting in the minds of those who read them, a disposition to inquire, how far your Royal Highness has exhibited in your private life, in the several relations of a husband, a parent, and a son, a pattern of morality and virtue worthy of imitation.

The very trade, Sir, in which I am engaged is, by a false representation, made a ground of censure. I am charged with extravagance and vanity in having possessed and resided at East-Cliff-Lodge, near Ramsgate, the late residence of the Princess of Wales, where, it is said, the costly decorations of the late Mr. Bond Hopkins, a gentleman of large fortune, were not in a style of splendor to suit what is called my

silly vanity;—that I pulled all to pieces, and re-  
 fitted up every part with the greatest profusion  
 of expense.—This charge is as absurd as it is  
 false; for, the plain fact is this; Mr. Bond Hop-  
 kins, died before the house was finished, and I  
 purchased it in that state of the executors. I  
 accordingly finished what Mr. Hopkins had left  
 undone, not with a view to gratify any silly  
 vanity, but as an article of trade, to resell it;  
 and I of course took the opportunity, while I  
 possessed it, of residing there. Was there ever  
 any thing so absurd as inventing such falsehoods,  
 and forcing them upon the public, under the pre-  
 tence of *defending* the character of your Royal  
 Highness?—A charge of extravagance might,  
 with equal justice, be brought against Mr.  
 Godsall, the first coachmaker in London, for  
 having elegant and expensive carriages in his  
 possession; or against M. Rundel, the jeweller,  
 for having the most splendid collection of jewels  
 of any man in Europe in his house; as against  
 me, for having occasionally elegant and attrac-  
 tive houses; it being the superiority of merit,  
 in every article of trade, whether in a carriage,  
 a diamond ornament, or a house, that leads to  
 an expeditious sale of it.

Another ridiculous charge of vanity and extravagance is, that I had the presumption to invite to my table the guests of your Royal Highness, whom I met at Carlton-House:—Your Royal Highness well knows that I never was at Carlton-House but for the purpose of receiving your orders, when sent for; I of course never met any persons as guests at Carlton-House, and no instance can be produced of my ever having had the presumption to invite any individual to dine at my table, who was a guest of your Royal Highness.

The general habits of my life, Sir, are totally and maliciously misrepresented by the defenders of Your Royal Highness. I am represented as living in extravagant luxury, while those, who know my real habits of life and of my family, know, that a quiet and regular system of domestic economy is that by which we are guided. — I am represented, in one of these Pamphlets, as sallying into the street with a bottle of Burgundy under one arm and of Champagne under the other. I can safely appeal to those who know me, that intemperance forms no part of my character; and the insinu-

ation that Burgundy and Champagne are the wines I drink, is a mean and pitiful endeavor to render me contemptible in the eyes of the world ;—I never had any Champagne or Burgundy in my house. Whatever may be my habits of life, I have not the vanity to suppose that the world can feel any interest in them ; and, therefore, the only apology I can make for obtruding so much of the subject on the notice of Your Royal Highness is, that, which I hope will be received as my excuse.

Every individual, let him imagine what he will to the contrary, even Your Royal Highness, has an interest in the good opinion of the public ; more particularly those, who, like myself, are dependent upon the public for support ; the losses I have experienced render the public opinion to me a matter of great moment ; my adversaries know it, and have artfully endeavored, by the grossest falsehoods and misrepresentations, to deprive me of the benefit of it. I therefore, in my own defence, have been obliged to this long detail of contradictions. — I must now, Sir, notice charges against me of a nature so shameful on the part of my accu-



sers, from their entire falsehood, as to provoke, (I have no doubt,) in the minds of all who read them, a feeling of extreme disgust and of sincere sorrow, that such means should be resorted to as a defence of the conduct of Your Royal Highness, the Heir-Apparent to the British Throne.

I am charged with having received of the Duke of N—— and the Earl of M——, each of them, Twenty Pounds, under the pretence of making a collection to assist a distressed gentleman in the Fleet-Prison; and that, with the exception of Five Pounds, I kept the remainder (Thirty-Five Pounds) for my own use; thereby defrauding these Noblemen of their money under a false pretence, and depriving the distressed person, for whom this assistance was said to be obtained, of the benefit of their benevolence.— Such a conduct, if true, would justly expose me to the well-merited contempt of society, and the effects of a criminal prosecution; — but the whole is a most infamous falsehood, as I never at any time applied to any Duke of N—— or Earl of M—— on such an oc-

casion, or received from them, or any body else, the sums in question. So far from having adopted so infamous a line of conduct, I am compelled to mention a circumstance out of which this disgraceful story has, I suppose, arisen, that the public may see in what degree I am deserving of censure, or otherwise.—About six years since, I was applied to in behalf of a distressed Baronet, in the Fleet, Sir Wm. M——e. I knew little of him but by the recommendation of a third person. Desirous of relieving distress so urgent as his was represented to be, I mentioned my intention to the person applying to me, of soliciting a subscription of the Baronets whom I knew, in behalf of one of their own order; and, presuming upon success, I sent him Five Pounds, and after that Two or Three Pounds more.

I never applied but to two persons, from one of whom I received Two Guineas, and nothing from the other; but, so many close questions and remarks were put to me the instant I mentioned the name of the person for whom this subscription was wanted, that I relinquished all attempts to get more, and contented

myself with my good intentions towards him ; for which, with the advance of Seven or Eight Pounds, and provisions at different times sent to him, the reward I experienced from this ungrateful man, was, the infamous accusation alluded to.—If what I state is not true, why not bring forward this pretended Duke of N—— or Earl of M—— to contradict me.

Another charge, of an equally-infamous nature, and equally false, is, that, when in business as a goldsmith, I received from some school-boys One Hundred and Twenty Guineas, the amount of a subscription they had made for the purpose of presenting their master with a piece of plate ; and that I sent them some paltry article of the value of about Thirty Pounds, keeping the One Hundred and Twenty Guineas to my own use. — I never, at any time, Sir, in the course of my life, received any such sum, or any such order ; and, if what I say is not credited, let the schoolmaster or any one of the boys be brought forward to establish the charge ! The whole story is a base falsehood !

A charge of a similar description as to mean and base intention, is, that I did not lose any thing by my concerns with Your Royal Highness, but that I dissipated my property upon a French lady residing in Charles-street, Berkeley-square, to whom, it is said, I presented an elegant sideboard of plate.—This is also a most base and infamous invention:—I never knew a lady so described, and never gave to any woman in my life, either a sideboard of plate, or a piece of plate of any value whatever.

The public, I am sure, will be struck with horror at a line of conduct so infamous, and from the effects of which no individual can be safe, let his character be ever so irreproachable, if attempts like these are countenanced; to disturb the peace of a family, long happy in the of enjoyment mutual affection.

It is impossible to believe that Your Royal Highness can be gratified with a conduct (under the alleged pretence of defending your character) so infamous, so base, so cruel, and so mean.

The last publication which has appeared con-

tains a charge against me, tremendous in sound only, but which, upon the slightest examination, conveys a very severe reflection upon your Royal Highness :—it is, that I wrote a letter to Lord Moira, containing a *threat* to extort money from Your Royal Highness. In the Review of the Conduct of Your Royal Highness I stated, that, at your earnest request, in a moment of great difficulty, I lent Your Royal Highness at one time One Thousand Five Hundred and Eighty-Five Pounds, and at another Four Hundred and Twenty Pounds, making together about Two Thousand Pounds. Your Royal Highness, upon the loan of this money, expressed yourself under the greatest obligation for a service, which you declared you *never would forget!* This violent attempt to *extort* money from your Royal Highness, then, was a letter, couched in the most humble terms, written on a bed of sickness to Lord Moira, requesting, as a great favor, the *loan* of Two Thousand Pounds from Your Royal Highness, which I expressed a hope could not be considered as an unreasonable request, it being no more than the sum, which I, an humble individual, had lent on a former occasion to your

Royal Highness, and which service you had declared you *never could forget*!—I stated that, if your Royal Highness would grant me this loan, I would thankfully accept it, *as a loan*, to be accounted for to you, Sir, out of any money your Royal Highness might hereafter think due to me. In soliciting this return, for that which your Royal Highness had called a favor, and which, when you received it, you declared you *never could forget*, I am branded with the epithet of, a *felon writing letters to extort money!!!* And, because the letters contained some communication from me to Lord Moira of private embarrassment, which it might reasonably be supposed would have operated as a stimulus to an act of liberality on the part of your Royal Highness, they were given by his Lordship to a hireling writer to be published, to do me all the injury which an exposure of embarrassment might be supposed to occasion.

If in a moment of distress I had assisted a person in private life with 2000*l.* or any sum of money which he had represented to be necessary to his relief; and at a future period, circumstances might have made a loan of a si-

similar amount necessary to me ; where, would I ask your Royal Highness, should I have applied for relief, but to the quarter where I had granted it, and that, under a presumption that it *could not, and indeed would not, be refused?*

I applied, in the letter alluded to, to your Royal Highness for a return only to the extent of a service, which you (the Heir-Apparent to a Throne) had acknowledged with THANKS to have received from me ; and every villanous epithet, that can attach to the character of a thief, is applied to me, as though it were a folly, in the opinion of the pretended friends of your Royal Highness, to confide in you, and a crime to expect from you the performance of a promise. Of all enemies, Sir, there are none so dangerous as injudicious friends.

I will trouble your Royal Highness with an answer to only one charge more,—which is, that, in case of revolutionary times, I might be expected to take an active part.—This charge is almost too contemptible for notice.

The feelings, which I cannot but entertain for the severe injuries I have received personally from your Royal Highness, ought not to involve me in a charge of disaffection to the Government; and I think his affection to his Prince is the least to be questioned, who has made the greatest sacrifices in proof of his attachment.

I am ready, Sir, to pay every homage that is due to the Sovereign and his offspring; their rank in the country gives them claim to homage and regard; but surely it is not too much to expect, that a conduct correspondent with their station should legitimate and ratify the claim.

Before I proceed to the examination of the conduct of your Royal Highness, I shall quote the words of an eminent constitutional writer, who says, "It is a mistaken idea that the conduct of the HEIR-APPARENT should be exempt from the cognizance, censure, or observation, of the people; the reverse is the fact;—the character of the Heir-Apparent partakes of the nature of public and pri-



“ vate property; it is an extended common,  
 “ reaching from one extremity of the Empire to  
 “ the other, in the preservation of which, every  
 “ individual has a common right and a com-  
 “ mon interest, and every deviation from the  
 “ rule of right is a matter of public concern,  
 “ and authorises censure and complaint in pro-  
 “ portion to the injury or mischief that may  
 “ result by a departure from it.”

Your Royal Highness's first appearance in  
 public life was marked by an application to Par-  
 liament for money: it was readily granted: your  
 Royal Highness was young, and the nation  
 was liberal.—This was in the year 1784.—In  
 1787, a second application was made for a far-  
 ther and very considerable advance.

The sense of the nation appeared much against  
 this second application on account of your Royal  
 Highness's irregularities and expensive establish-  
 ment of race-horses, at New-market. The House  
 of Commons was much irritated, and a call of the  
 House upon so important an occasion was  
 moved by Colonel Stanley, the Member for  
 Lancashire. Your Royal Highness yielded to

the objections, engaged to reform your establishments, and to relinquish the turf; your praise resounded through the Kingdom, and **ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-ONE THOUSAND POUNDS** were voted by Parliament, which, with the retrenchments *promised* and *expected*, were thought would effectually release your Royal Highness from debt, and from *all future embarrassments*.

This Vote was passed upon the assurance of His Majesty, that he had every reason to hope no doubt could be entertained of your Royal Highness's adherence to your engagements.

What, Sir, must have been the public feeling upon the occasion of seeing, that the money you wanted, being obtained, you very shortly resumed your former habits of expense, in so much greater a degree, that in 1795, a space only of seven years, your debts amounted to nearly **SEVEN HUNDRED THOUSAND POUNDS**!! It was evident at this time from the temper of the nation, that something must be done to satisfy them; and, as it was a desirable thing to the nation that your Royal Highness should

marry, and get rid of a female connection which the world viewed with disgust, the greatest hopes were entertained by the nation of the good effects likely to result from your proposed union with so amiable a personage as the Princess of Brunswick. Upon your Royal Highness's marriage, your affairs were arranged, but under the severe, though necessary restrictions, in the Act passed for the occasion. What, Sir, has been the conduct of your Royal Highness since that period? Certainly, Sir, not such as to realize the hopes so fondly entertained by the Country.—I shall pass over the melancholy situation in which you live as the husband of an amiable wife, without any other remark, than that it is a subject (whatever may be its cause) of DEEP NATIONAL REGRET.

I shall not, however, Sir, so easily pass over your renewal of the connection you had agreed to abandon, with a lady, whose society (from her equivocal character) one part of the fashionable world thinks it their duty to avoid, while the other, more *polite*, in compliance with the expectation of your Royal Highness, (as a tribute of respect to yourself, that the

lady should be of every party where you are invited;) sacrifice their sense of decorum to their vanity; while your Royal Highness, who can exact such a concession, as the price of your company, or a tribute to your rank, does not manifest that regard to the opinion of the nation which they have a right to expect.

The defiance to public opinion in the departure from decency, which the conduct of the lady alluded to exhibits, since the marriage of your Royal Highness, is such as cannot be reprobated with too much severity and is very justly appreciated by the public, by whom her name is never mentioned unaccompanied with expressions of the greatest contempt.

The forlorn and hapless female, compelled to seek refuge from famine and despair in resources which her aching heart condemns, claims at once the pity and forgiveness of the world.

To return, Sir, to your pecuniary situation.—  
Notwithstanding your Royal Highness receives

at this time, a larger income than you ever before possessed, and that you live upon a scale of less visible expense, having, as your Royal Highness truly says, *laid aside the state and dignity due to your high station*; it is a lamentable fact, Sir, that you are now again involved in debts to an *enormous amount*, which are every day increasing, by the immense expense of useless buildings and preparations of magnificence, which lose all their splendor from the reflections, which a consideration of such profusion cannot but create in the public mind, in the disregard so indecently shewn to the distresses of the people at such a moment as this.

Is it not a reproach to your feelings, Sir, that while the middle and lower orders of society can with difficulty obtain the common necessities of life, that your Royal Highness (insensible to their deplorable situation and to the accumulated calamities which mark the present times) should waste with such an inconsiderate profusion the vast sums you are now expending.

The laboring poor, destitute of every resource but industry, must toil hard for the miserable pit-

tance they obtain:—contrast, I beseech your Royal Highness, their deplorable condition with your own exalted state, and recollect how much you are indebted to the bounty of PROVIDENCE for the superiority of your fortune.

Can your Royal Highness believe, that, after the very liberal supplies granted to you by Parliament, and the numerous instances of your violated engagements fresh in their memory, that an application for farther advances would not be attended with very serious consequences.

Should such a subject be again brought before Parliament, the question well analysed and reduced to plain matter of fact (for this is not a time for compliments) would be, whether your Royal Highness shall be allowed to impoverish the country by profusion; and whether you shall be permitted to lavish with or without control the property of others; nor whether the Commons of the United Kingdom, faithful to themselves and their Constituents, would discharge the trust reposed in them like BRITONS, and spurn a request, which (stript of the form prescribed by the Constitution) would

be neither more nor less than a DEMAND, of such a nature, as to leave no doubt, in even the most sceptical mind, what the country would have to expect from the justice or generosity of your Royal Highness, if unhappily left at the mercy of either. It is our boast, and certainly our felicity, that we have other and BETTER securities.

The facts which I have stated, Sir, cannot be denied; nor can the impression, occasioned by a consideration of them on the public mind, be done away by the calumnious attacks of hireling-writers upon my character. No, Sir,—it is only to be effected by a SINCERE and STEADY REFORM of the evils complained of:—discard from your presence men, who, wishing to repair their broken fortunes, would lead your Royal Highness into embarrassments, from which you may never be able to extricate yourself; and believe no man, Sir, who shall endeavour to impress upon your mind, that there is one moral for Courts, and another for the People.

Your Royal Highness cannot be ignorant how very much your fortune and your happi-

ness depend upon a correct line of conduct; and that it was owing to the scandalous waste, prodigality, and profusion, of the Court of Versailles, and of its improvident Princes, that the former has been annihilated, and the latter become miserable degraded wanderers, harrassed and driven from state to state, without the most distant prospect of ever regaining the splendid establishments they have lost.

Not many years, Sir, are elapsed, since these wretched fugitives lived in a style of splendor and magnificence, unknown to the manners of this country, and the ready homage they received from millions, was more the spontaneous tribute of generous affection, than the servile adulation of an enslaved multitude.—Contrast their former glory with their present forlorn and wretched condition!—Examine their unfortunate history, and seriously consider the consequences! Behold their persons proscribed, by common consent, through the vast extent of territory, in which they were once idolized; their claims to distinction treated with laughter and derision; their affluence exchanged for want; the acclamations of joy,



with which they were every where saluted, converted into the most poignant reproaches, and their birth, titles, and rank, treated with mockery and contempt!—Their history, Sir, should serve as a MIRROR to Princes; they may behold, in the fate of banished and degraded royalty in France, what they may expect by following so ruinous an example.

It is, Sir, from the adversities of others, as well as from our own, that the most instructive lessons for our conduct in life are derived; and, whatever tends to convince mankind of the instability of fortune, deserves their most serious attention. The sad reverse which the French Princes have experienced ought not to be an unprofitable lesson to your Royal Highness.

Your Royal Highness has possessed an inestimable advantage, in the example before your eyes, in the conduct of your Royal Father, of the effects to be produced, by a contrary line of conduct to that pursued by the unhappy French Princes. His Majesty, through the long course of his life, having made the law of his God the invariable rule of his conduct, has

been enabled, by the benign influence of RELIGION, to merit and obtain the esteem, veneration, and love, he so universally possesses.—

His greatest honors, even in this world, are yet to come, in the sincere regard that will ever attend his memory, and the undissembled tears which will bedew his tomb.

I shall make no apology, Sir, for the statement of facts which I have made, and the advice which I have given,—the former is a justifiable vindication of my character; and, in the latter, I feel satisfied that I have performed an important duty.

**I HAVE RETURNED GOOD FOR EVIL.**

I have the honor to be, Sir, with the respect which is unquestionably due to your high rank in the State,

Your Royal Highness's

obedient Servant,

**N. JEFFERYS.**

**PALL-MALL.**

## LAW REPORT.

*Court of King's-Bench, Westminster, Feb. 18.*

1806. *Sittings before Lord-Chief-Justice  
Kenyon, and a Special Jury.*

*Jefferys v. T. Walker, Esq. and Others.*

Mr. ERSKINE said, he was counsel for Mr. Jefferys, who had long been an eminent jeweller in this town.—The Defendants are the Commissioners appointed under an Act of Parliament for the liquidation of the Debts of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. Undoubtedly, the subject of this Action was not at all in the contemplation of Parliament when this Act was made. But it was fit his Lordship should know; (for, the sooner any thing that could create a prejudice in the cause was removed the better;)—it was necessary that his Lordship and the Jury, who were to try this cause, should know, that the sum of money demanded by Mr. Jefferys in this

Action was not due from the Prince of Wales in consequence of any private contract entered into by the Prince and Mr. Jefferys, in former times, between the date of the Prince arriving at full age and the present period; but that it arose in consequence of the contract of marriage which took place between His Royal Highness and his illustrious relation; and was solely, singly, and entirely, for the jewels furnished for Her Royal Highness, with the approbation, not merely of the Prince her Husband, but also of the King and Queen. They were directed to be made by the Prince. They were shewn at different times to their Majesties in the course of their being made up in that elegant style and fashion, which was necessary for such a wearer; and they were at all times sanctioned and approved of by His Royal Highness; he had reason to suppose by his Royal Parents also. Justice must be done to the Defendants, who appeared to have no other interest in permitting Mr. Jefferys to bring this cause into court than that they conceived it to be their public duty, in order that the value of these jewels might be fairly estimated. It was not a thing which one would wish, most undoubtedly, to bring into court.

very illustrious persons, who ought to be withdrawn as much as possible from forums of that kind, otherwise he could have called His Royal Highness himself, and he did expect to see a person, (Lord Cholmondeley, who afterwards came into court,) high in the service of the Prince of Wales, who he was sure would willingly by his testimony confirm the truth of what he had then uttered. He was glad this was so, because most undoubtedly when the Act of Parliament was passed it looked in a very different direction. His Royal Highness had contracted many debts, and some of them were such as probably would require that scrutiny which was never ill bestowed when a contract of any magnitude was to be under investigation. If, when this cause was over, the Jury might go to St. James's, they would see these Jewels to much more advantage than they could possibly be described in court, for they would see them worn by the Illustrious Possessor of them. The sum depended entirely on those who contracted for these Jewels being made (said Mr. Erskine).—I confess, for one, that I think the splendor of a court, and that which is necessary to support that dignity, and those ornaments which are

the subject of this action, are expenses that Englishmen will least of all be disposed to grudge. It is impossible to suppose, that a great and dignified country can be maintained with all those eminent stations, and with all that is necessary to support the great fabric of society, without that which gives dignity and illustration to human life; and perhaps nothing less exhausts the resources of a nation than such expenses, because they tend to create emulation and to the encouragement of the Arts and Sciences, to the advancement of the manufactures, and the various reciprocations of human life, in a country lifted up by its trade, and blessed with the most extensive commerce. Not a farthing of this expense goes out of the country; but, if it did, and if it were lost in that bottomless gulph, where many large sums have been lost, it is nothing to this jeweller, who has sold his wares to those who honored him with their orders.

I have not the honor to be in the service of the Prince of Wales, but I think I do him no more than justice when I declare, that I believe he would be one of the last men, who would wish to deprive a tradesman who had furnished

him with any commodity in the course of his trade of an iota of its value. It is necessary, however, that I should say he has the same interest as any other man in lessening the demand, where his funds are to be answerable; for, the Act of Parliament mortgages part of the Revenue of the Prince for the payment of his debts, and that revenue does not return to him till those debts are paid. In proportion therefore as those debts are lessened, his revenue is increased;—That, however, can have no effect where the mind is rightly placed.

Mr. Erskine said, that, after Mr. Jefferys brought in his bill before the Commissioners on oath, he was summoned under the authority of the statute before the Commissioners, and desired that the jewels should be looked at; they were inspected by two or three persons eminent in the trade; but, from whose declaration, which would be given in evidence, he did not know they had an opportunity to form that accurate judgement that was necessary. They said, after the short time they had spent in the examination, and not having taken the means to ascertain accurately their value which had since been taken,

they only valued them at 43,700*l*. But they said, though that might be their value, yet they were of opinion some allowance should be made for collecting so speedily this valuable set of jewels, which must have occasioned very extraordinary demands on the person procuring them. The risks also which attended the case were many, and he should not lessen them by stating, that it was not from every man nor at every sale that Mr. Jefferys could collect jewels of such magnitude and value, especially on the shortest notice, and which furnished one of the most brilliant assortments that ever was worn by any crowned head in Europe. He would venture to say, that no assortment of jewels, either with respect to brilliancy or setting, were finer, or more beautiful. They were approved of by all whose approbation was fit to be had, and were worthy of the use to which they were adapted.

Mr. Jefferys waited for the judgement of the Commissioners, who added 1200*l*. to the supposed value at which they had been estimated, which made 44,900*l*.



The Act of Parliament gave the option in this case to the party, either to abide by the judgement of the Commissioners, or to lay his claim before a Jury of his country, as Mr. Jefferys had done. Nothing but an arbitrary Parliament could have deprived the subject of the right of bringing his claim before a jury of his country; and, therefore, this Act did not take away that right, but allowed him to come into a Court of Justice to have the cause tried in the common form; and the only principle on which this cause could be tried was, *whether these jewels were fairly worth to the wearer; and what they ought to be estimated at to such a wearer, attended with all the circumstances of inconvenience, risk, and expense, to him who furnished the commodity.*—That was the principle on which the law of England would ascertain a question of this sort.

Mr. Jefferys had an interest not to enter into any controversy, not to stir up any dispute, but to abide by the judgement of the Commissioners. But a man, who had engaged in trade, and had various difficulties, must take care they

did not turn out to be an incumbrance to him by his not having a fair profit, by which alone he could stand. No man could be supposed to go through the drudgeries of trade to oblige others, however illustrious they might be. Every man went into trade to make his own fortune, and to give independence to those that followed him, and who might not have the same means of procuring it for themselves; and, therefore, what he asked for Mr. Jefferys was, that he should have what these jewels were fairly worth. Mr. Jefferys consulted his friends, and those who knew the various difficulties he had been put to on that short notice, which was recognized by those gentlemen who were called in by the Commissioners. He consulted the most eminent persons in the trade, and the result was, that there was a great difference between the real value of these jewels and that at which they had been estimated by the Gentlemen who had been called in by the Commissioners.

They would inform the Jury, that they were estimated at Fifty Thousand Nine Hundred and Ninety-Seven Pounds Ten Shillings, *without taking into their consideration any of the*

*circumstances or difficulties under which they were procured.* It was very material that this estimate had been made on the bare inspection of the jewels, judging by their weight and according to their brilliancy, of which they were qualified to judge from their skill in the trade.

*That estimate was formed without taking into their consideration the particular circumstances attending this case.* If then, effect was given to the judgement of the Commissioners, by adding Twelve Hundred Pounds for the difficulties attending this particular contract; and if that sum were added to the former, it would amount to Fifty-Two Thousand One Hundred and Ninety-Seven Pounds Ten Shillings. Besides that, Mr. Jefferys had been obliged to pay out of his pocket Two Thousand Pounds in hard money, as interest upon the securities he had given to those persons from whom he had purchased the diamonds: and no man living could possibly exist upon the diamonds that were in his shop, till they were converted into money. Mr. Jefferys was examined as to what were the particular profits of his trade. He said that was a question which

tradesmen in general were not disposed to answer ; he, however, had no secrets ;—he stated what his profit was, and it was no more than that of others who dealt in the same commodity. A man who deals in diamonds must have a different profit from one who deals in brooms. In the first place, it requires an immense capital to furnish raw materials for the manufacture and trade. Secondly, it requires persons eminent for their skill and of fine taste, who must be paid great salaries. Tradesmen in the situation of Mr. Jefferys must also have persons on whom he could safely repose the greatest trust. He was obliged to live in the most expensive part of the town, and must have a house fitted up for people of fashion to call on him in the line of his business. — That was necessarily attended with heavy rents and the expenses of servants. It was also necessary to take into calculation the various drawbacks to which all trades were subject, but to which a trade of this description was peculiarly subject. Besides that, Mr. Jefferys, by the form of the late Act of Parliament, was not to be paid in the same manner as if he had received a judgement in the common form. Here he could sue out no execu-

tion : he would receive prompt payment in part, and for the remainder he must take debentures out of the Exchequer, which bore a discount. All these circumstances were to be taken into consideration.

To conclude, (said Mr. Erskine,) I wish to state Mr. Jefferys to be *an honorable and respectable tradesman*, and I trust he will go out of this court so. It is a most flattering and satisfactory thing to me to be able to state that so he is considered by all those who are concerned in this contract.

Gentlemen, Mr. Jefferys desires to have nothing but that which the fair profits of the trade entitle him to have. If there was the smallest difficulty in ascertaining the real weight and value of any one of these jewels, and if a cloud were to be thrown over your verdict by any man of rank or skill in this trade, (these jewels being set,) I believe Mr. Jefferys would have no objection to its being unset; and, if there was found the smallest defalcation or the least impropriety in his conduct, he would be glad to have it corrected by your verdict.

The first witness on the part of the Plaintiff was Mr. W. Sharp, who said he had been a Diamond-Broker these twenty years; he believed he was more largely concerned in the purchase of diamonds than any man; he had seen the jewels that were purchased for Her Royal Highness, and had accurately examined them for the space of five hours; he examined them stone by stone, and apprehended no man could collect such an assortment of jewels without purchasing a number of stones, which could not afterwards come into the assortment; he estimated their value, without taking into consideration any of those circumstances that had been stated, at Fifty Thousand Nine Hundred and Ninety-Seven Pounds Ten Shillings.

On cross-examination he said, that jewels were now higher by Ten or Fifteen per Cent. than when Mr. Jefferys received this order; it being known so many diamonds were to be purchased, it raised the price in the market. If he had had this order to execute he did not know what he should have charged per Cent. He did all his business by commission; he believed jewellers had sometimes a very large, and at other times, a very small, profit; he did not know whether Twelve, Fifteen, or Thirty-Five per Cent. was a sufficient profit; if the price of the commodity was raised in the market in consequence of the publicity of the order, the profit would rise in the same ratio.

The other three Gentlemen, who were called on behalf of the Plaintiff, were Mr. D. Eliason, Mr. Z. Levi, and

Mr. R. Dugdale, two of whom are Diamond-Merchants, in a very great way of business, and the third a Jeweller ; they had examined these jewels, and all agreed in the estimate which we have stated. Their evidence was very nearly the same with that given by Mr. Sharp. Their valuation was made on the 13th of January last, then diamonds were estimated at the price this commodity bore at the time they were purchased. Mr. Eliason said he would not have undertaken such an order unless he had been permitted to charge whatever he thought proper, because the market would rise. If the order were now to be executed, it could not be done for less ; and it would be a difficult matter, and almost impossible, to execute that order at the present moment.

Mr. Garrow, as Counsel for the Defendants, on the record said, there were very few causes that came for discussion under circumstances similar to the present, because the defendants had no more interest in the subject than any one of the Jury. They had a public duty of the last importance cast upon them ; and, however painful and distressing the discharge of it might be under certain circumstances, yet they were bound to meet their situation manfully, and to perform their duty under all its difficulties. Their anxiety was to lay before the Jury in evidence those grounds upon which they were to form their judgement, and when it was formed the Defendants would be most perfectly satisfied. He had no instructions, and it would have been extraordinary if he had had any, considering the quarter whence they came, reflecting on the

CONDUCT OF CHARACTER of Mr. Jefferys. He was not instructed to state to the Jury that he forfeited his pretensions to the character of a FAIR and HONORABLE tradesman.

The question for the Jury to try was this :—Under the existing circumstances, was the demand, which Mr. Jefferys had made against the estate of His Royal Highness, such a demand as could possibly be sustained in a Court of Justice? He said, he, for one, had no difficulty in stating, not only that he thought the Commissioners justified in taking the opinion of the Jury on that question, but that they would have been totally undeserving of that confidence, which the Legislature had thought they might safely repose in them, if they had not put it into the state of inquiry which that day had produced. His Learned Friend began his address by observing, that it was fit in the outset to remove any prejudice that might have crept into this business, and he said this question was by no means in contemplation at the time the Act of Parliament took place. Mr. Garrow said he did not agree with him in that, because the Act of Parliament intended to make a suitable provision for the Illustrious Personages who were the objects of it; and, to remove these embarrassments which the generosity of His Royal Highness had subjected him to, he had been graciously pleased to desire, that a certain fund might be appropriated in the hands of those Trustees for the payment of any debts that might be brought forward, and such as His Royal Highness ought to be fairly and honestly called on to pay. Under these circumstances, what was the duty of these Commissioners?



To receive the claim of Mr. Jefferys and of all others, to examine its extent, to judge of its propriety, and if they approved of it to put it in a course of payment. On the contrary, if they had such grounds as to induce them to think it exorbitant, then to tender to Mr. Jefferys what they thought an ample compensation, and if he was not satisfied with that, to do what they had done that day.

The four persons, who had been examined before them, were cognizant in this branch of trade. Of them, as of Mr. Jefferys he should say *nothing disrespectful*; but it was a matter fit to be observed, without the least stain on the credit of Mr. Jefferys, that all of those persons were employed in the market for procuring those sort of articles. He did not suppose the verdict of the jury would pass, on the supposition that they came there to misrepresent facts. He should state what the conduct of the Commissioners had been, and what they would do after the Jury had given their verdict.

His Learned Friend had observed, that the persons, who had been examined by the Commissioners, had themselves stated that, according to a cursory examination, they had formed their estimate. He said there never was an estimate taken under circumstances more auspicious, because it was not originally taken with a view to pare down Mr. Jefferys's demand; but it was made for the satisfaction of the Commissioners, that they might know how to go to Parliament. These Gentlemen would inform the Jury of the precise value of all the jewels, and of the profit they

had allowed to the Plaintiff. They had examined them all, stone by stone. When they had examined the size and weight of a stone, they had not got to the end of their journey. It was also necessary to examine its brilliancy, to detect its flaws, and find out its specks. His Learned Friend had told the Jury (and he dared to say it was true) that these jewels had given the most ample and perfect satisfaction to all to whom satisfaction ought to be given on the subject. It was not a pleasant thing for him to state, that every part of these jewels was not as perfect as every body would wish they had been. They were not then in a Court of Compliments, but in a Court of Law, where justice and truth were to be their guides. He was bound to state to them, because he should prove it, that on comparing some of these jewels furnished by Mr. Jefferys with some others, they were in many instances vastly superior to those of Mr. Jefferys, and in one instance he had valued a stone at 800*l.* which another Gentleman would have been willing to furnish for 1600*l.* and have given twelve months credit, and should have thought he had made a tolerable bargain. The Commissioners had dealt with Mr. Jefferys as they had done with every other tradesman. They had submitted his bill to persons of skill and experience in his trade, and they had selected the most eminent and most skilful. But they had taken another course to satisfy their own consciences, and the Jury might be surprised, and very much satisfied, to see the two modes they had pursued, and which came to be pretty much the same in the result. He wished the Jury to give Mr. Jefferys a fair and honorable profit for the commodity he had furnished.

Mr. Ley, one of the witnesses called on the part of the Plaintiff, said, that if he had gone to market and purchased these jewels, and immediately delivered them over to the person for whom they were purchased, as was the case with the Prince of Wales's orders, Ten per Cent. was a profit which would have satisfied him.

Mr. Garrow said, whatever dropped from Mr. Erskine fell with great weight. He believed, with him, that what had been laid out on that most superb assortment of jewels was one of the last expenses high-spirited Englishmen would wish to save. He did not desire the Jury to abate one shilling of, whatever was necessary for the comfort, the splendor, and dignity, of the Illustrious Personages for whom these articles were furnished. All that he was anxious about was, that this demand might not be made subservient to the private interests of a private individual. His witnesses had allowed to Mr. Jefferys a profit of 16 per Cent.; and, after all, there would be a deduction of 10,000*l.* from Mr. Jefferys' demand of 54,685*l.* He asked whether, if the Commissioners had complied with that demand, they would not have been guilty of a total dereliction of their duty? whether they would not have been unworthy of any confidence? and whether they ought not to have been stigmatized by all honest men? They would certainly have merited every opprobrious epithet if they had submitted to the payment of that demand, when persons most eminent for their skill, honor, and integrity, told them 10,000*l.* ought to be deducted, and that after all they would leave a profit of 16 per Cent. to Mr. Jefferys on his commodity.

The Jury would leave out of the question all circumstances of risk, payment, and of the probability of a delay in payment, because they did not belong to it. In whatever situation Mr. Jefferys might have been with other contracts, 25,000*l.* was at his call from the hour these jewels were purchased, had his charge been of a size to have authorized the Commissioners to have paid it; and he would also have had debentures carrying interest for the remainder of his demand. It was one of the imperfections of the Act of Parliament, (and it had more than one,) that it did not authorize the Commissioners to make a tender; but the moment this cause was decided, Mr. Jefferys might go to the Exchequer and receive 25,000*l.* in hard cash. The witnesses for the Plaintiff were shy respecting the profits of this trade; but Mr. Jefferys himself, when examined upon oath before the Commissioners, had declared, the usual profits of his trade were 12 per Cent. Was that the profit he had charged on this order? He had charged 30 per Cent.\* Mr. Garrow here stated some figures, but did not wish the jury to decide the cause upon them; he only meant to use them by way of argument, to shew the difference between the profit that had been asked in this case and the ordinary profits of the trade. The sum charged to His Royal Highness to Mr. Jefferys for this assortment of jewels, was 54,585*l.*; from that sum he proposed to subtract 30 per cent. and afterwards he could add what was fit to be added. Thirty per Cent. amounted to 16,405*l.* 10*s.* If that sum was deducted from Mr. Jefferys's

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\* The gross profits, independent of any deductions for interest of money insurance on the Prince's life, and other contingent expenses.

demand, it would leave the sum of 38,279*l.* 10*s.* as the prime cost of these jewels. If Mr. Jefferys, therefore, only received that sum, he would have no profit; but the Jury would give him a profit. Suppose he received the common profits of the trade, 12 per Cent. that would amount to 6,562*l.* and which, being added to the prime cost, would amount to 44,841*l.* 14*s.* which sum, when deducted from the Plaintiff's demand, left 9,843*l.* 6*s.*

These figures stand thus:

	<i>L</i>	<i>s.</i>
Mr. Jefferys's demand - - - - -	54,685	0
Thirty per cent. deducted - - - - -	16,405	10
Leaves the prime cost - - - - -	38,279	10
Twelve per cent. added - - - - -	6,562	4
Makes the sum of - - - - -	44,841	14

Difference between Mr. Jefferys's demand and a profit of twelve per cent. 9,843*l.* 6*s.*

He had only used these figures by way of argument, and did not consider them as the most proper basis upon which the Jury ought to form their judgement, though they went a great way to shew, that the deductions, which had been made by those gentlemen who had been called in by the Commissioners was right.

Mr. Garrow concluded with the character and situation of the witnesses he should call, and the nature of the evidence they would give. As he had before observed, he said, the Commissioners had only wished to satisfy the Jury they had acted properly in the arduous and difficult situa-

tion in which they were placed. Not pretending to infallibility, but knowing they were subject to error, they did not desire to have the judgement of the jury on other or different materials than those that should be laid before them. He might observe, without offence, that the Jury, as representing the country, were under the most solemn obligations of an oath to decide between Mr. Jefferys and the public. If they should be of opinion, that Mr. Jefferys, as a fair and honorable tradesman, was entitled to the last shilling of the demand he had made, the Commissioners would feel no chagrin; they would experience no disappointment; and he was certain, whatever their verdict might be, it would be most satisfactory to all concerned.

M. J. CRIPPS was the first witness called on the part of the Defendants. He said he had been fifty years in the jewellery trade, and had examined the jewels in question with Mr. Du Val and Mr. Francillon in May last. They examined them article by article, and their estimate amounted to 43,700*l*. His mode of examination was by taking the large stones of the ear-rings and the centre stones of the necklace. These were capital stones, and not easily procured. They then went on examining all the other capital diamonds. As to some of the other stones, they were very fine, and he had some diamonds of the same description with them, and with which he compared them, and by that means they were able to ascertain their value as nearly as could possibly be done. In their estimate, they allowed Mr. Jefferys about 16*l*. per cent. They included in that the price of setting, which in the trade was called the fashion.

On Cross-examination, he said he thought he could execute a large order as easily as a small one. He had no doubt but the marriage of the Prince of Wales had an effect upon the market. Except five stones, he should not have thought it difficult to have executed that order. He did not see any necessity for purchasing jewels which were not wanted. *No man in England ever received an order like this.* He had always thought some allowance ought to be made for collecting such an assortment of Jewels in so short a time, and which must have occasioned very exorbitant demands on the person procuring them. He thought that allowance should be £1200. He should be glad to furnish such an assortment of jewels at the amount at which they had estimated the jewels in question. They had examined them for nearly five hours.

The evidence of Mr. Du Val and Mr. Fraucillon was very nearly to the same effect with that of Mr. Cripps; but they thought the Commissioners might have given Mr. Jefferys £40,000 as an act of liberality, in order to prevent litigation. But they all three agreed in opinion, that the fair reasonable value of the jewels, without taking into account any collateral circumstance, was £43,700.

Mr. ERSKINE in reply observed, that, unless his judgment deceived him very much, (and he was ready to admit it frequently did, where he had nothing to draw it out of the course in which he had been engaged on one side of a controversy, and where his feelings and duty were naturally

involved,) he thought he had never stated, in the course of his professional life, a clearer case in a court of justice. His Learned Friend had been pleased to observe, that what fell from him on some subjects fell from a height; if he could think so, he should speak much louder on a subject which concerned the public than he then intended. Convinced that nothing that came from him could have any such effect, he should forbear making any observations, except touching this cause. His Learned Friend had not stated him quite correctly when he said he (Mr. Erskine) had delivered it as his opinion, that there was no expense which the people of this country would so little grudge as that which gave lustre, dignity, and splendor, to the first magistrate of the realm. He stated it for the reasons which he gave. He stated (though his Learned Friend did not remember that qualification) that it was because it went to the encouragement of the arts and the advancement of manufactures, to the creation of all those various intercourses, which not only adorned, but were of advantage, to society, and without which, perhaps, a great nation could scarcely exist; and certainly he meant to throw out, by a side wind, that there were other expenses which the high spirit of Englishmen would, he believed, be very little disposed to brook. It had been observed, that Mr. Jefferys was entitled to be treated with the same indulgence and liberality as if the order had been given by any Duke, Earl, or Gentleman of Fortune. But, where was the Duke, Earl, or Gentleman of Fortune, (unless he happened to fatten on the bowels of the country,) who could afford to give such an order as this, which was necessary to give illustration to



a country. That some men gave such orders which made the tradesmen of this country pine, might be true, and that, among other reasons, might excite an indignant spirit in the people of England; but, when an order was given by the Heir-Apparent of the Crown, *could Mr. Jefferys with decency refuse to execute it?* Had it been given by a subject, he might have desired to look at his rent-roll; he might have considered how far it was wise or prudent to have any thing to do with it: but, when a contract descended to an English subject as from the crown, a man would not shrink from the execution of it, for fear of undergoing hazards, which, from other circumstances, and a different situation, he might be obliged to undergo. It was natural to suppose, if Mr. Jefferys was able to carry on his business, he could have no objection to enter into a contract with the public. He said he called the Prince of Wales the Public, because he represented the public. Though no man was bound to divulge all the secrets of his trade, when Mr. Jefferys came to ask for his money, he had been compelled to do what no tradesman had ever been compelled to do between subject and subject. The Learned Counsel desired it might be remembered, that he was not contending there ought to be any difference whether this order came from a Duke, an Earl, from the Commissioners themselves, or from them as representing the Prince of Wales; but let it not be said that the Jury were to weigh and decide what this gentleman had a right to expect, *abstracted from the conditions in which he stood, the circumstances attending the contract, the various difficulties that attended the execution of it, and*

*the species of command that fell on him to execute.* If a tradesman in a great way of business had shrunk from the execution of such an order, it would not have made very much for his advantage in the ordinary course of his business. The next observation he had to make, and which he knew must make an impression on the minds of the Jury, was this, they were not here in a case where a man had sold diamonds to the amount of 5000*l.* which might have been purchased at any shop in the Strand or Fleet-street: such a cause could not last half an hour. It would only have been necessary to call two or three witnesses, who were skilled in the trade, to ask what such a set of diamonds were reasonably worth, and the answer would have decided the cause: but, in the present case, it had been admitted by the witnesses on both sides, that Mr. Jefferys had furnished *such an assortment of Jewels as no tradesman ever did; that he had such a contract as no other man ever had to execute; that he had difficulties which no other jeweller ever had; and that he was subject to a competition to which no other man could be subject;* and yet, with all this novelty, and though he stood in an unparalleled situation, this cause, it seems, was to be decided as if the order had been executed in the ordinary course of his business. It had been said, that was not a Court of Compliments;—God forbid it should! It was a Court of Justice and of Truth, where every fair claimant had a right to expect his just demand would be enforced. The Learned Counsel next made some observations on the testimonies of the witnesses produced by the Defendants. In making their estimate of the jewels in question, they had compared some of them

with some of their own that were similar, and by that means had judged of their value. He conceived, by such a mode of proceedings, their judgement was abundantly apt to be deceived. It was among the infirmities of human nature to consider what was our own as better than that which belonged to any other. God Almighty had so made man, and we could not change him.

These Gentlemen, on looking at these jewels, found certain specks in them; and he had no doubt, but if they had been ordered to examine the most glorious of all the bodies in the solar system,—the sun himself,—they would also have found fault with him for having specks.

His next observation was, that Mr. Jefferys was never called in to disprove what were alleged to be the imperfections in his Jewels. He submitted whether it would not have been candid to have given Mr. Jefferys notice, that they were about to examine the defects of these Jewels, that he also might have sent men of skill to attend the examination. In that case, judgement would have been opposed to judgement, and skill to skill, and justice would have held the balance between them. He said, he wished to speak of the Defendants' witnesses with respect, and he hoped it would be understood, that he was retained in that cause to depreciate no man. But who were these witnesses? They were arbitrators picked out by the Defendants; they were called in *ex parte*,—not approved of by Mr. Jefferys, not called in by him.

The Learned Counsel submitted to the Jury that there was a gross contradiction between the certificates, signed by the witnesses for the Defendants, and the evidence they had that day given. They said, in their certificates, "We have inspected the Jewels furnished for Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, and now in Her Royal Highness's possession, and, as far as we are able to judge in the short time we have had to form our opinion, we think their value 43,700*l*."

The first remark he should make on that certificate was this: It happened rather singularly that on the first blush of the thing, without weighing, without particular examination, without setting their eminent skill to work, they should come to a specific value; and that afterwards, when they did set their wits to work, and examined all these Jewels, their estimate should be *exactly the same*.— If a man's judgement was not fastened down by any prejudices, and if he did not consider himself as a party, what were the chances against his coming to the same value of these Jewels, when he looked at them superficially; and after examining them with the greatest care and accuracy?— Yet the second time these gentlemen made the estimate, they made it amount to the *same as they did at first*. The witnesses for the Defendants had said, that some allowance should be made for collecting so speedily so valuable a set of Jewels, which must have occasioned very extraordinary demands on the person procuring them. This, they said, we are unable to estimate, as well as the risk that may have attended the order. These gentlemen now said, in their

examination before his Lordship and the gentlemen of the Jury, that they meant that allowance as a mere *douceur*, as an act of liberality, to prevent litigation. But the Jury would recollect his Learned Friend had told them, that estimate was originally taken, not with a view to pare down Mr. Jefferys's demand, but in order to ascertain the value of those Jewels to the Commissioners, that they might know how to go to Parliament.

After many other ingenious remarks on the testimony of the Defendants' witnesses, Mr. Erskine concluded his reply with the following observations;—

I still retain for the Prince of Wales the same affection I ever had in the earlier part of my life. As to those irregularities which have led him into debt, I have no doubt but he will one day most amply repay the People of England by the protection of their just rights and liberties. It was for the defence of the British Constitution that the House of Hanover was first called to the Throne of these Kingdoms; and, therefore, the people of this country have a religious right to expect, that the Princes of that House will *ever continue the faithful guardians of their rights and privileges.*

The Lord-Chief-Justice, in his excellent summing up to the Jury, observed, the single question they were to ascertain by their verdict was,—what these wares and merchandizes were reasonably

worth? Whatever became of this cause, he thought the Commissioners, who were men of the highest honor, and had a public duty cast upon them, were entitled to the thanks of every individual. His Lordship next directed the attention of the Jury to the most material parts of this cause; after which they withdrew for a short time, and then brought in a Verdict for the Plaintiff for FIFTY THOUSAND NINE HUNDRED AND NINETY-SEVEN POUNDS TEN SHILLINGS.

Mr. Jefferys's other claims on the Prince, of 24,700*l.* for Bond-debts, and 9,331*l.* 9*s.* for Jewels sold to His Royal Highness, as presents to the Queen and Royal Family, were admitted by the Commissioners, and Verdicts taken accordingly.

The amount of the Verdicts together were 85,028*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.*; 25,000*l.* of which was paid in cash, and the residue was, after being subject to a deduction of 10 per cent. paid by debentures, due at such distant periods as to be subject to a discount on an average of 20 per cent. making together a deduction of nearly 30 per cent.

Copy of a Letter received from Mr. Erskine  
(now Lord Erskine) in answer to Mr. Jefferys's  
Letter of Thanks for the exertion of Mr. E's  
talents.

*Serjeants-Inn, Feb. 19, 1796.*

SIR,

I return you many thanks for your very obliging  
Letter.—I spoke to the jury my own sentiments, and I de-  
livered them warmly, because I felt an extreme disgust at  
the evidence by which a JUST and HONORABLE CLAIM  
was attempted to be resisted.

If Counsel, upon proper occasions, do not shew that  
they are in earnest, not only private injustice may be suc-  
cessful, but the freedom of English courts may be lost.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

THO. ERSKINE.

*To Mr. Jefferys.*

Statement of the accounts of Mr. JEFFERYS, in the affairs of His Royal Highness the PRINCE OF WALES; shewing the amount of the claims of Mr. JEFFERYS, as established by the verdicts of a jury before Lord Kenyon, and those admitted by the Commissioners for the management of the Prince's affairs; together with the deductions and deficiency of payment, from the mode adopted by the Commissioners\* for the settlement of the said claims.

Amount of verdict obtained in

the Court of King's Bench,	Claims.	Net Receipts.
for jewels on the marriage of	L s. d.	L s. d.
the Prince - - - - -	50,997 10 0	
Received of Lord Cholmondely,†		25,000 0 0
A deduction was made on the balance, of ten per cent. and the amount paid in debentures,‡ which sold on an average discount, at twenty per cent. loss, producing - -		18,718 4 0
Deficiency - - - - -		7,279 6 0
	<hr/> 50,997 10 0	<hr/> 50,997 10 0

\* The Right Honorable William Pitt. Chancellor of the Exchequer; the Right Honorable Henry Addington, Speaker of the House of Commons; Henry Strachey, Esq. M. P. Master of the King's Household; John Fordyce, Esq. M. P. Surveyor of the Crown Lands; and Mr. Sergeant Walker, Accountant-General; Commissioners named in the Act for the Settlement of the affairs of the Prince of Wales.

† The sum voted for jewels.

‡ The debentures were sold to the best advantage, through the house of Messrs. Coutts and other bankers.



Bond-debts, for which (being admitted by the Commissioners) a verdict was taken, 24,700 0 0

Ten per cent. deducted, and the balance paid in debentures, which at an average loss of twenty per cent. produced - - - - -

17,784 0 0

Deficiency - - - - -

6,916 0 0

24,700 0 0 24,700 0 0

An account, including presents of jewels made by the Prince, on his marriage, to the Queen and the Royal Family - - - - -

9,331 9 6

This account, also admitted by the Commissioners; and, a verdict being taken, was settled by a deduction of ten per cent. and the balance in debentures, at twenty per cent. discount, produced - - - - -

6,718 14 0

Deficiency - - - - -

2,612 15 6

9,331 9 6 9,331 9 6

Total amount of claims - . *L* 85,028 *s. d.* 19 6

Ditto of net receipts - - - 68,220 18 0

Total deficiency - - 16,803 1 6

Copy of a Letter to the Prince of Wales, including the preceding Statement of Accounts, &c.

*Pall-Mall, June 25, 1801.*

SIR,

From the difficulties I have experienced for the last four years to provide for my family, arising from the mistaken idea of the public that my misfortunes did not originate from the cause I state, but my own improper conduct; and the sanction this idea has unfortunately received, from your Royal Highness totally withdrawing from me that patronage I had formerly the good fortune to enjoy, and which I am not conscious of ever having deserved to forfeit; I am most forcibly called upon to take some method publicly to vindicate my character in the opinion of the world, to whom I am ultimately to look for support.

The cruelty of my situation has seldom, I believe, been experienced by any man: my fortune has been ruined, my character discredited, and my health broken with excessive anxiety. All this has been produced by placing an unlimited confidence in a quarter, where a doubt of its rectitude would have been insult.

The injury I individually complain of, Sir, is not confined to me, it extends to the public: a sacred principle of our Constitution,—the Verdict of a Jury,—has been rendered of no effect.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your Royal Highness's obedient Servant,

NATH. JEFFERYS.

*His Royal Highness  
the Prince of Wales, &c. &c.*





The Seventh Edition.

*A LETTER*

FROM THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

EDMUND BURKE

TO

A NOBLE LORD.

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Entered at Stationers-Hall

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[Price 2s.] 2

CHAPTER X

THE HISTORY OF THE

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MY LORD,

**I** COULD hardly flatter myself with the hope, that so very early in the season I should have to acknowledge obligations to the Duke of Bedford and to the Earl of Lauderdale. These noble persons have lost no time in conferring upon me, that sort of honour, which it is alone within their competence, and which it is certainly most congenial to their nature and their manners to bestow.

To be be ill spoken of, in whatever language they speak, by the zealots of the new sect in philosophy and politicks, of which these noble persons think so charitably, and of which others think so justly, to me, is no matter of uneasiness or surprize. To have incurred the displeasure of the Duke of Orleans or the Duke of Bedford, to

fall under the censure of Citizen Brissot or of his friend the Earl of Lauderdale, I ought to consider as proofs, not the least satisfactory, that I have produced some part of the effect I proposed by my endeavours. I have laboured hard to earn, what the noble Lords are generous enough to pay. Personal offence I have given them none. The part they take against me is from zeal to the cause. It is well! It is perfectly well! I have to do homage to their justice. I have to thank the Bedfords and the Lauderales for having so faithfully and so fully acquitted towards me whatever arrear of debt was left undischarged by the Priestleys and the Paines.

Some, perhaps, may think them executors in their own wrong: I at least have nothing to complain of. They have gone beyond the demands of justice. They have been (a little perhaps beyond their intention) favourable to me. They have been the means of bringing out, by their invectives, the handsome things which Lord Grenville has had the goodness and condescension to say in my behalf. Retired as I am from the world, and from all its affairs and all its pleasures, I confess it does kindle, in my nearly extinguished feelings,



feelings, a very vivid satisfaction to be so attacked and so commended. It is soothing to my wounded mind, to be commended by an able, vigorous, and well informed statesman, and at the very moment when he stands forth with a manliness and resolution, worthy of himself and of his cause, for the preservation of the person and government of our Sovereign, and therein for the security of the laws, the liberties, the morals, and the lives of his people. To be in any fair way connected with such things, is indeed a distinction. No philosophy can make me above it: no melancholy can depress me so low, as to make me wholly insensible to such an honour.

Why will they not let me remain in obscurity and inaction? Are they apprehensive, that if an atom of me remains, the sect has something to fear? Must I be annihilated, lest, like old *John Zisca's*, my skin might be made into a drum, to animate Europe to eternal battle, against a tyranny that threatens to overwhelm all Europe, and all the human race?

My Lord, it is a subject of awful meditation. Before this of France, the annals of all time

have not furnished an instance of a *compleat* revolution. That revolution seems to have extended even to the constitution of the mind of man. It has this of wonderful in it, that it resembles what Lord Verulam says of the operations of nature: It was perfect, not only in all its elements and principles, but in all it's members and it's organs from the very beginning. The moral scheme of France furnishes the only pattern ever known, which they who admire will *instantly* resemble. It is indeed an inexhaustible repository of one kind of examples. In my wretched condition, though hardly to be classed with the living, I am not safe from them. They have tygers to fall upon animated strength. They have hyenas to prey upon carcases. The national menagerie is collected by the first physiologists of the time; and it is defective in no description of savage nature. They pursue, even such as me, into the obscurest retreats, and haul them before their revolutionary tribunals. Neither sex, nor age—nor the sanctuary of the tomb is sacred to them. They have so determined a hatred to all privileged orders, that they deny even to the departed, the sad immunities of the grave. They are not wholly without an object. Their turpitude purveys to their malice; and

and they unplumb the dead for bullets to assassinate the living. If all revolutionists were not proof against all caution, I should recommend it to their consideration, that no persons were ever known in history, either sacred or profane, to vex the sepulchre, and by their forceries, to call up the prophetic dead, with any other event, than the prediction of their own disastrous fate. —“ Leave me, oh leave me to repose !”

In one thing I can excuse the Duke of Bedford for his attack upon me and my mortuary pension. He cannot readily comprehend the transaction he condemns. What I have obtained was the fruit of no bargain ; the production of no intrigue ; the result of no compromise ; the effect of no solicitation. The first suggestion of it never came from me, mediately or immediately, to his Majesty or any of his Ministers. It was long known that the instant my engagements would permit it, and before the heaviest of all calamities had for ever condemned me to obscurity and sorrow, I had resolved on a total retreat. I had executed that design. I was entirely out of the way of serving or of hurting any statesman, or any party, when the Ministers so generously and so nobly carried  
into

into effect the spontaneous bounty of the Crown. Both descriptions have acted as became them. When I could no longer serve them, the Ministers have considered my situation. When I could no longer hurt them, the revolutionists have trampled on my infirmity. My gratitude, I trust, is equal to the manner in which the benefit was conferred. It came to me indeed, at a time of life, and in a state of mind and body, in which no circumstance of fortune could afford me any real pleasure. But this was no fault in the Royal Donor, or in his Ministers, who were pleased, in acknowledging the merits of an invalid servant of the publick, to assuage the sorrows of a desolate old man.

It would ill become me to boast of any thing. It would as ill become me, thus called upon, to depreciate the value of a long life, spent with unexampled toil in the service of my country. Since the total body of my services, on account of the industry which was shewn in them, and the fairness of my intentions, have obtained the acceptance of my Sovereign, it would be absurd in me to range myself on the side of the Duke of Bedford and the Corresponding Society, or, as far as in me lies, to permit a dispute on the rate at which the authority appointed  
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by *our* Constitution to estimate such things, has been pleased to set them.

Loose libels ought to be passed by in silence and contempt. By me they have been so always. I knew that as long as I remained in publick, I should live down the calumnies of malice, and the judgments of ignorance. If I happened to be now and then in the wrong, as who is not, like all other men, I must bear the consequence of my faults and my mistakes. The libels of the present day, are just of the same stuff as the libels of the past. But they derive an importance from the rank of the persons they come from, and the gravity of the place where they were uttered. In some way or other I ought to take some notice of them. To assert myself thus traduced is not vanity or arrogance. It is a demand of justice; it is a demonstration of gratitude. If I am unworthy, the Ministers are worse than prodigal. On that hypothesis, I perfectly agree with the Duke of Bedford.

For whatever I have been (I am now no more) I put myself on my country. I ought to be allowed a reasonable freedom, because I stand upon my deliverance; and no culprit ought to  
plead

plead in irons. Even in the utmost latitude of defensive liberty, I wish to preserve all possible decorum. Whatever it may be in the eyes of these noble persons themselves, to me, their situation calls for the most profound respect. If I should happen to trespass a little, which I trust I shall not, let it always be supposed, that a confusion of characters may produce mistakes; that in the masquerades of the grand carnival of our age, whimsical adventures happen; odd things are said and pass off. If I should fail a single point in the high respect I owe to those illustrious persons, I cannot be supposed to mean the Duke of Bedford and the Earl of Lauderdale of the House of Peers, but the Duke of Bedford and the Earl of Lauderdale of Palace Yard;—The Dukes and Earls of Brentford. There they are on the pavement; there they seem to come nearer to my humble level; and, virtually at least, to have waved their high privilege.

Making this protestation, I refuse all revolutionary tribunals, where men have been put to death for no other reason, than that they had obtained favours from the Crown. I claim, not the letter, but the spirit of the old English law, that is, to be tried by my peers. I decline  
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his Grace's jurisdiction as a judge. I challenge the Duke of Bedford as a juror to pass upon the value of my services. Whatever his natural parts may be, I cannot recognize in his few and idle years, the competence to judge of my long and laborious life. If I can help it, he shall not be on the inquest of my *quantum meruit*. Poor rich man. He can hardly know any thing of publick industry in it's exertions, or can estimate it's compensations when it's work is done. I have no doubt of his Grace's readiness in all the calculations of vulgar arithmetick; but I shrewdly suspect, that he is very little studied in the theory of moral proportions; and has never learned the Rule of Three in the arithmetick of policy and state.

His Grace thinks I have obtained too much. I answer, that my exertions, whatever they have been, were such as no hopes of pecuniary reward could possibly excite; and no pecuniary compensation can possibly reward them. Between money and such services, if done by abler men than I am, there is no common principle of comparison: they are quantities incommensurable. Money is made for the comfort and convenience of animal life. It cannot be a reward for what, mere animal life must indeed sustain,

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tain, but never can inspire. With submission to his Grace, I have not had more than sufficient. As to any noble use, I trust I know how to employ, as well as he, a much greater fortune than he possesses. In a more confined application, I certainly stand in need of every kind of relief and easement much more than he does. When I say I have not received more than I deserve, is this the language I hold to Majesty? No! Far, very far, from it! Before that presence, I claim no merit at all. Every thing towards me is favour, and bounty. One style to a gracious benefactor; another to a proud and insulting foe.

His Grace is pleased to aggravate my guilt, by charging my acceptance of his Majesty's grant as a departure from my ideas, and the spirit of my conduct with regard to œconomy. If it be, my ideas of œconomy were false and ill founded. But they are the Duke of Bedford's ideas of œconomy I have contradicted, and not my own. If he means to allude to certain bills brought in by me on a message from the throne in 1782, I tell him, that there is nothing in my conduct that can contradict either the letter or the spirit of those acts.—Does he mean the pay-office act? I take it for granted he does not. The act to which he alludes is,  
I suppose,



I suppose, the establishment act. I greatly doubt whether his Grace has ever read the one or the other. The first of these systems cost me, with every assistance which my then situation gave me, pains incredible. I found an opinion common through all the offices, and general in the public at large, that it would prove impossible to reform and methodize the office of Paymaster General. I undertook it, however; and I succeeded in my undertaking. Whether the military service, or whether the general œconomy of our finances have profited by that act, I leave to those who are acquainted with the army, and with the treasury, to judge.

An opinion full as general prevailed also at the same time, that nothing could be done for the regulation of the civil-list establishment. The very attempt to introduce method into it, and any limitation to it's services, was held absurd. I had not seen the man, who so much as suggested one œconomical principle, or an œconomical expedient, upon that subject. Nothing but coarse amputation, or coarser taxation, were then talked of, both of them without design, combination, or the least shadow of principle. Blind and headlong zeal, or factious fury, were the whole contribution brought by the most

noisy on that occasion, towards the satisfaction of the public, or the relief of the Crown.

Let me tell my youthful Cenfor, that the necessities of that time required something very different from what others then suggested, or what his Grace now conceives. Let me inform him, that it was one of the most critical periods in our annals.

Astronomers have supposed, that if a certain comet, whose path intersected the ecliptick, had met the earth in some (I forget what) sign, it would have whirled us along with it, in it's excentrick course, into God knows what regions of heat and cold. Had the portentous comet of the rights of man, (which "from it's horrid hair  
" shakes pestilence, and war," and "with fear of  
" change perplexes Monarchs") had that comet crossed upon us in that internal state of England, nothing human could have prevented our being irresistibly hurried, out of the highway of heaven, into all the vices, crimes, horrors and miseries of the French revolution.

Happily, France was not then jacobinized. Her hostility was at a good distance. We had a limb cut off; but we preserved the body: We  
lost

lost our Colonies ; but we kept our Constitution. There was, indeed, much intestine heat ; there was a dreadful fermentation. Wild and savage insurrection quitted the woods, and prowled about our streets in the name of reform. Such was the distemper of the publick mind, that there was no madman, in his maddest ideas, and maddest projects, who might not count upon numbers to support his principles and execute his designs.

Many of the changes, by a great misnomer called parliamentary reforms, went, not in the intention of all the professors and supporters of them, undoubtedly, but went in their certain, and, in my opinion, not very remote effect, home to the utter destruction of the Constitution of this kingdom. Had they taken place, not France, but England, would have had the honour of leading up the death-dance of Democrattick Revolution. Other projects, exactly coincident in time with those, struck at the very existence of the kingdom under any constitution. There are who remember the blind fury of some, and the lamentable helplessness of others ; here, a torpid confusion, from a panic fear of the danger ; there, the same inaction from a stupid insensibility to it ; here, well-wishers to the mischief ; there,

there, indifferent lookers-on. At the same time, a sort of National Convention, dubious in its nature, and perilous in its example, nosed Parliament in the very seat of its authority ; sat with a sort of superintendence over it ; and little less than dictated to it, not only laws, but the very form and essence of Legislature itself. In Ireland things ran in a still more eccentric course. Government was unnerved, confounded, and in a manner suspended. It's equipoise was totally gone. I do not mean to speak disrespectfully of Lord North. He was a man of admirable parts ; of general knowledge ; of a versatile understanding fitted for every sort of business ; of infinite wit and pleasantry ; of a delightful temper ; and with a mind most perfectly disinterested. But it would be only to degrade myself by a weak adulation, and not to honour the memory of a great man, to deny that he wanted something of the vigilance, and spirit of command, that the time required. Indeed, a darkness, next to the fog of this awful day, loomed over the whole region. For a little time the helm appeared abandoned—

*Ipse diem noctemque negat discernere cœlo  
Nec meminisse viæ mediâ Palinurus in undâ.*

At that time I was connected with men of high place in the community. They loved Liberty

berty as much as the Duke of Bedford can do ; and they understood it at least as well. Perhaps their politicks, as usual, took a tincture from their character, and they cultivated what they loved. The Liberty they pursued was a Liberty inseparable from order, from virtue, from morals, and from religion, and was neither hypocritically nor fanatically followed. They did not wish, that Liberty, in itself, one of the first of blessings, should in it's perversion become the greatest curse which could fall upon mankind. To preserve the Constitution entire, and practically equal to all the great ends of it's formation, not in one single part, but in all it's parts, was to them the first object. Popularity and power they regarded alike. These were with them only different means of obtaining that object ; and had no preference over each other in their minds, but as one or the other might afford a surer or a less certain prospect of arriving at that end. It is some consolation to me in the cheerless gloom, which darkens the evening of my life, that with them I commenced my political career, and never for a moment, in reality, nor in appearance, for any length of time, was separated from their good wishes and good opinion.

By what accident it matters not, nor upon what desert, but just then, and in the midst of  
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that hunt of obloquy, which ever has pursued me with a full cry through life, I had obtained a very considerable degree of publick confidence. I know well enough how equivocal a test this kind of popular opinion forms of the merit that obtained it. I am no stranger to the insecurity of it's tenure. I do not boast of it. It is mentioned, to shew, not how highly I prize the thing, but my right to value the use I made of it. I endeavoured to turn that short-lived advantage to myself into a permanent benefit to my Country. Far am I from detracting from the merit of some Gentlemen, out of office or in it, on that occasion. No !—It is not my way to refuse a full and heaped measure of justice to the aids that I receive. I have, through life, been willing to give every thing to others ; and to reserve nothing for myself, but the inward conscience, that I had omitted no pains, to discover, to animate, to discipline, to direct the abilities of the Country for it's service, and to place them in the best light to improve their age, or to adorn it. This conscience I have. I have never suppressed any man ; never checked him for a moment in his course, by any jealousy, or by any policy. I was always ready, to the height of my means (and they were always infinitely below my desires) to forward those abilities which overpowered my own.

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He is an ill-furnished undertaker, who has no machinery but his own hands to work with. Poor in my own faculties, I ever thought myself rich in theirs. In that period of difficulty and danger, more especially, I consulted, and sincerely co-operated with men of all parties, who seemed disposed to the same ends, or to any main part of them. Nothing, to prevent disorder, was omitted: when it appeared, nothing to subdue it, was left uncounselled, nor unexecuted, as far as I could prevail. At the time I speak of, and having a momentary lead, so aided and so encouraged, and as a feeble instrument in a mighty hand—I do not say, I saved my Country; I am sure I did my Country important service. There were few, indeed, that did not at that time acknowledge it, and that time was thirteen years ago. It was but one voice, that no man in the kingdom better deserved an honourable provision should be made for him.

So much for my general conduct through the whole of the portentous crisis from 1780 to 1782, and the general sense then entertained of that conduct by my country. But my character, as a reformer, in the particular instances which the Duke of Bedford refers to, is so connected in principle with my opinions on the hideous changes, which have since barbarized

France, and spreading thence, threaten the political and moral order of the whole world, that it seems to demand something of a more detailed discussion.

My æconomical reforms were not, as his Grace may think, the suppression of a paltry pension or employment, more or less. Œconomy in my plans was, as it ought to be, secondary, subordinate, instrumental. I acted on state principles. I found a great distemper in the commonwealth ; and, according to the nature of the evil and of the object, I treated it. The malady was deep ; it was complicated, in the causes and in the symptoms. Throughout it was full of contraindicants. On one hand Government, daily growing more invidious for an apparent increase of the means of strength, was every day growing more contemptible by real weakness. Nor was this dissolution confined to Government commonly so called. It extended to Parliament ; which was losing not a little in it's dignity and estimation, by an opinion of it's not acting on worthy motives. On the other hand, the desires of the People, (partly natural and partly infused into them by art) appeared in so wild and inconsiderate a manner, with regard to the æconomical object  
(for



(for I set aside for a moment the dreadful tampering with the body of the Constitution itself) that if their petitions had literally been complied with, the State would have been convulsed ; and a gate would have been opened, through which all property might be sacked and ravaged. Nothing could have saved the Publick from the mischiefs of the false reform but it's absurdity ; which would soon have brought itself, and with it all real reform, into discredit. This would have left a rankling wound in the hearts of the people who would know they had failed in the accomplishment of their wishes, but who, like the rest of mankind in all ages, would impute the blame to any thing rather than to their own proceedings. But there were then persons in the world, who nourished complaint ; and would have been thoroughly disappointed if the people were ever satisfied. I was not of that humour. I wished that they *should* be satisfied. It was my aim to give to the People the substance of what I knew they desired, and what I thought was right whether they desired it or not, before it had been modified for them into senseless petitions. I knew that there is a manifest marked distinction, which ill men, with ill designs, or weak men incapable of any design, will constantly be confounding, that is, a marked distinction be-

tween Change and Reformation. The former alters the substance of the objects themselves ; and gets rid of all their essential good, as well as of all the accidental evil annexed to them. Change is novelty ; and whether it is to operate any one of the effects of reformation at all, or whether it may not contradict the very principle upon which reformation is desired, cannot be certainly known beforehand. Reform is, not a change in the substance, or in the primary modification of the object, but a direct application of a remedy to the grievance complained of. So far as that is removed, all is sure. It stops there ; and if it fails, the substance which underwent the operation, at the very worst, is but where it was.

All this, in effect, I think, but am not sure, I have said elsewhere. It cannot at this time be too often repeated ; line upon line ; precept upon precept ; until it comes into the currency of a proverb, *To innovate is not to reform*. The French revolutionists complained of every thing ; they refused to reform any thing ; and they left nothing, no, nothing at all *unchanged*. The consequences are *before* us,—not in remote history ; not in future prognostication : they are about us ; they are upon us. They shake the publick security;

security ; they menace private enjoyment. They dwarf the growth of the young ; they break the quiet of the old. If we travel, they stop our way. They infest us in town ; they pursue us to the country. Our business is interrupted ; our repose is troubled ; our pleasures are saddened ; our very studies are poisoned and perverted, and knowledge is rendered worse than ignorance, by the enormous evils of this dreadful innovation. The revolution harpies of France, sprung from night and hell, or from that chaotick anarchy, which generates equivocally “ all monstrous, all prodigious things,” cuckoo-like, adulterously lay their eggs, and brood over, and hatch them in the nest of every neighbouring State. These obscene harpies, who deck themselves, in I know not what divine attributes, but who in reality are foul and ravenous birds of prey (both mothers and daughters) flutter over our heads, and soufe down upon our tables, and leave nothing unrent, unrifled, unravaged, or unpolluted with the slime of their filthy offal\*.

\* *Tristius haud illis monstrum, nec sævior ulla  
Pestis, & ira Deum Stygiis sese extulit undis.  
Virginei volucrum vultus ; sædissima ventris  
Proluvies ; uucaque manus ; & pallida semper  
Ora fame——*

If his Grace can contemplate the result of this compleat innovation, or, as some friends of his will call it *reform*, in the whole body of it's solidity and compound mass, at which, as Hamlet says, the face of Heaven glows with horror and indignation, and which, in truth, makes every reflecting mind, and every feeling heart, perfectly thought-sick, without a thorough abhorrence of every thing they say, and every thing they do, I am amazed at the morbid strength, or the natural infirmity of his mind.

It was then not my love, but my hatred to innovation, that produced my Plan of Reform. Without troubling myself with the exactness of the logical diagram, I considered them as things substantially opposite. It was to prevent that evil, that I proposed the measures, which his Grace is pleased, and I am not sorry he is pleased, to recall to my recollection. I had (what

Here the Poet breaks the line, because he (and that He is Virgil) had not verse or language to describe that monster even as he had conceived her. Had he lived to our time, he would have been more overpowered with the reality than he was with the imagination. Virgil only knew the horror of the times before him. Had he lived to see the Revolutionists and Constitutionalists of France, he would have had more horrid and disgusting features of his harpies to describe, and more frequent failures in the attempt to describe them.

I hope

I hope that Noble Duke will remember in all his operations) a State to preserve, as well as a State to reform. I had a people to gratify, but not to inflame, or to mislead. I do not claim half the credit for what I did, as for what I prevented from being done. In that situation of the publick mind, I did not undertake, as was then proposed, to new model the House of Commons or the House of Lords; or to change the authority under which any officer of the crown acted, who was suffered at all to exist. Crown, Lords, Commons, judicial system, system of administration, existed as they had existed before; and in the mode and manner in which they had always existed. My measures were, what I then truly stated them to the House to be, in their intent, healing and mediatorial. A complaint was made of too much influence in the House of Commons; I reduced it in both Houses; and I gave my reasons article by article for every reduction, and shewed why I thought it safe for the service of the State. I heaved the load every inch of way I made. A disposition to expence was complained of; to that I opposed, not mere retrenchment, but a system of œconomy, which would make a random expence without plan or foresight, in future not easily

easily practicable. I proceeded upon principles of research to put me in possession of my matter; on principles of method to regulate it; and on principles in the human mind and in civil affairs to secure and perpetuate the operation. I conceived nothing arbitrarily; nor proposed any thing to be done by the will and pleasure of others, or my own; but by reason, and by reason only. I have ever abhorred, since the first dawn of my understanding to this it's obscure twilight, all the operations of opinion, fancy, inclination, and will, in the affairs of Government, where only a sovereign reason, paramount to all forms of legislation and administration, should dictate. Government is made for the very purpose of opposing that reason to will and to caprice, in the reformers or in the reformed, in the governors or in the governed, in Kings, in Senates, or in People.

On a careful review, therefore, and analysis of all the component parts of the Civil List, and on weighing them each against other, in order to make as much as possible, all of them a subject of estimate (the foundation and cornerstone of all regular provident œconomy) it appeared to me evident, that this was impracticable, whilst that part, called the Pension List,

was

was totally discretionary in it's amount. For this reason, and for this only, I proposed to reduce it, both in it's gross quantity, and in it's larger individual proportions, to a certainty : lest, if it were left without a *general* limit, it might eat up the Civil List service ; if suffered to be granted in portions too great for the fund, it might defeat it's own end ; and by unlimited allowances to some, it might disable the Crown in means of providing for others. The Pension List was to be kept as a sacred fund ; but it could not be kept as a constant open fund, sufficient for growing demands, if some demands could wholly devour it. The tenour of the Act will shew that it regarded the Civil List *only*, the reduction of which to some sort of estimate was my great object.

No other of the Crown funds did I meddle with, because they had not the same relations. This of the four and a half per cents does his Grace imagine had escaped me, or had escaped all the men of business, who acted with me in those regulations ! I knew that such a fund existed, and that pensions had been always granted on it, before his Grace was born. This fund was full in my eye. It was full in the eyes of those who worked with me. It was left on principle. On principle I did what was then  
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done ;

done ; and on principle what was left undone was omitted. I did not dare to rob the nation of all funds to reward merit. If I pressed this point too close, I acted contrary to the avowed principles on which I went. Gentlemen are very fond of quoting me ; but if any one thinks it worth his while to know the rules that guided me in my plan of reform, he will read my printed speech on that subject ; at least what is contained from page 230 to page 241 in the second Volume of the collection which a friend has given himself the trouble to make of my publications. Be this as it may, these two Bills (though atchieved with the greatest labour, and management of every sort, both within and without the House) were only a part, and but a small part, of a very large system, comprehending all the objects I stated in opening my proposition, and indeed many more, which I just hinted at in my Speech to the Electors of Bristol, when I was put out of that representation. All these, in some state or other of forwardness, I have long had by me.

But do I justify his Majesty's grace on these grounds ? I think them the least of my service ! The time gave them an occasional value : What I have done in the way of political œconomy was far from confined to this body of measures.



measures. I did not come into Parliament to con my lesson. I had earned my pension before I set my foot in St. Stephen's Chapel. I was prepared and disciplined to this political warfare. The first lesson I sat in Parliament, I found it necessary to analyze the whole commercial, financial, constitutional and foreign interests of Great Britain and it's Empire. A great deal was then done; and more, far more would have been done, if more had been permitted by events. Then in the vigour of my manhood, my constitution sunk under my labour. Had I then died, (and I seemed to myself very near death) I had then earned for those who belonged to me, more than the Duke of Bedford's ideas of service are of power to estimate. But in truth, these services I am called to account for, are not those on which I value myself the most. If I were to call for a reward (which I have never done) it should be for those in which for fourteen years, without intermission, I shewed the most industry, and had the least success; I mean in the affairs of India. They are those on which I value myself the most; most for the importance; most for the labour; most for the judgment; most for constancy and perseverance in the pursuit. Others may value

them most for the *intention*. In that, surely, they are not mistaken.

Does his Grace think, that they who advised the Crown to make my retreat easy, considered me only as an œconomist? That, well understood, however, is a good deal. If I had not deemed it of some value, I should not have made political œconomy an object of my humble studies, from my very early youth to near the end of my service in parliament, even before, (at least to any knowledge of mine) it had employed the thoughts of speculative men in other parts of Europe. At that time, it was still in it's infancy in England, where, in the last century, it had it's origin. Great and learned men thought my studies were not wholly thrown away, and deigned to communicate with me now and then on some particulars of their immortal works. Something of these studies may appear incidentally in some of the earliest things I published. The House has been witness to their effect, and has profited of them more or less, for above eight and twenty years.

To their estimate I leave the matter. I was not, like his Grace of Bedford, swaddled,  
and

and rocked, and dandled into a Legislator; “ *Nitor in adversum*” is the motto for a man like me. I possessed not one of the qualities, nor cultivated one of the arts, that recommend men to the favour and protection of the great. I was not made for a minion or a tool. As little did I follow the trade of winning the hearts, by imposing on the understandings, of the people. At every step of my progress in life (for in every step was I traversed and opposed), and at every turnpike I met, I was obliged to shew my passport, and again and again to prove my sole title to the honour of being useful to my Country, by a proof that I was not wholly unacquainted with it’s laws, and the whole system of it’s interests both abroad and at home. Otherwise no rank, no toleration even, for me. I had no arts, but manly arts. On them I have stood, and, please God, in spite of the Duke of Bedford and the Earl of Lauderdale, to the last gasp will I stand.

Had his Grace condescended to enquire concerning the person, whom he has not thought it below him to reproach, he might have found, that in the whole course of my life, I have never, on any pretence of œconomy, or on any other pretence, so much as in a single instance, stood between any man and his reward of service,

service, or his encouragement in useful talent and pursuit, from the highest of those services and pursuits to the lowest. On the contrary I have, on an hundred occasions, exerted myself with singular zeal to forward every man's even tolerable pretensions. I have more than once had good-natured reprehensions from my friends for carrying the matter to something bordering on abuse. This line of conduct, whatever it's merits might be, was partly owing to natural disposition ; -but I think full as much to reason and principle. I looked on the consideration of publick service, or publick ornament, to be real and very justice : and I ever held, a scanty and penurious justice to partake of the nature of a wrong. I held it to be, in its consequences, the worst œconomy in the world. In saving money, I soon can count up all the good I do ; but when by a cold penury, I blast the abilities of a nation, and stunt the growth of it's active energies, the ill I may do is beyond all calculation. Whether it be too much or too little, whatever I have done has been general and systematick. I have never entered into those trifling vexations and oppressive details, that have been falsely, and most ridiculously laid to my charge.

Did

Did I blame the pensions given to Mr. Barré and Mr. Dunning between the proposition and execution of my plan ? No ! surely, no ! Those pensions were within my principles. I assert it, those gentlemen deserved their pensions, their titles,—all they had ; and if more they had, I should have been but pleased the more. They were men of talents ; they were men of service. I put the profession of the law out of the question in one of them. It is a service that rewards itself. But their *publick service*, though, from their abilities unquestionably of more value than mine, in it's quantity and in it's duration was not to be mentioned with it. But I never could drive a hard bargain in my life, concerning any matter whatever ; and least of all do I know now to haggle and huckster with merit. Pension for myself I obtained none ; nor did I solicit any. Yet I was loaded with hatred for every thing that was with-held, and with obloquy for every thing that was given. I was thus left to support the grants of a name ever dear to me, and ever venerable to the world, in favour of those, who were no friends of mine or of his, against the rude attacks of those who were at that time friends to the grantees, and their own zealous partizans. I have never heard the Earl of Lauderdale complain of these pensions. He finds  
nothing

nothing wrong till he comes to me. This is impartiality, in the true modern revolutionary style.

Whatever I did at that time, so far as it regarded order and œconomy, is stable and eternal; as all principles must be. A particular order of things may be altered; order itself cannot lose its value. As to other particulars, they are variable by time and by circumstances. Laws of regulation are not fundamental laws. The publick exigencies are the masters of all such laws. They rule the laws, and are not to be ruled by them. They who exercise the legislative power at the time must judge.

It may be new to his Grace, but I beg leave to tell him, that mere parsimony is not œconomy. It is separable in theory from it; and in fact it may, or it may not, be a *part* of œconomy, according to circumstances. Expence, and great expence, may be an essential part in true œconomy. If parsimony were to be considered as one of the kinds of that virtue, there is however another and an higher œconomy. Œconomy is a distributive virtue, and consists not in saving, but in selection. Parsimony requires no providence, no sagacity, no powers of combination, no comparison,

parifon, no judgment. Meer inftinét, and that not an inftinét of the nobleft kind, may produce this falfe œconomy in perfection. The other œconomy has larger views. It demands a difcriminating judgment, and a firm fagacious mind. It fhuts one door to impudent importunity, only to open another, and a wider, to unprefuming merit. If none but meritorious fervice or real talent were to be rewarded, this nation has not wanted, and this nation will not want, the means of rewarding all the fervice it ever will receive, and encouraging all the merit it ever will produce. No ftate, fince the foundation of fociety, has bæen impoverished by that fpecies of profufion. Had the œconomy of felection and proportion been at all times obferved, we fhould not now have had an overgrown Duke of Bedford, to opprefs the induftry of humble men, and to limit by the ftandard of his own conceptions, the juftice, the bounty, or, if he pleafes, the charity of the Crown.

His Grace may think as meanly, as he will of my deferts in the far greater part of my conduct in life. It is free for him to do fo. There will always be fome difference of opinion in the value of political fervices. But there is one merit of mine, which he, of all men living, ought to be  
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the last to call in question. I have supported with very great zeal, and I am told with some degree of success, those opinions, or if his Grace likes another expression better, those old prejudices which buoy up the ponderous mass of his nobility, wealth, and titles. I have omitted no exertion to prevent him and them from sinking to that level, to which the meretricious French faction, his Grace at least coquets with, omit no exertion to reduce both. I have done all I could to discountenance their enquiries into the fortunes of those, who hold large portions of wealth without any apparent merit of their own. I have strained every nerve to keep the Duke of Bedford in that situation, which alone makes him my superior. Your Lordship has been a witness of the use he makes of that pre-eminence.

But be it, that this is virtue ! Be it, that there is virtue in this well selected rigour ; yet all virtues are not equally becoming to all men and at all times. There are crimes, undoubtedly there are crimes, which in all seasons of our existence, ought to put a generous antipathy in action ; crimes that provoke an indignant justice, and call forth a warm and animated pursuit. But all things, that concern, what I may call, the preventive police of morality, all things merely



ly rigid, harsh and cenforial, the antiquated moralists, at whose feet I was brought up, would not have thought these the fittest matter to form the favourite virtues of young men of rank. What might have been well enough, and have been received with a veneration mixed with awe and terrour, from an old, severe, crabbed Cato, would have wanted something of propriety in the young Scipios, the ornament of the Roman Nobility, in the flower of their life. But the times, the morals, the masters, the scholars have all undergone a thorough revolution. It is a vile illiberal school, this new French academy of the *san culottes*. There is nothing in it that is fit for a Gentleman to learn.

Whatever it's vogue may be, I still flatter myself, that the parents of the growing generation will be satisfied with what is to be taught to their children in Westminster, in Eaton, or in Winchester: I still indulge the hope that no *grown* Gentleman or Nobleman of our time will think of finishing at Mr. Thelwall's lecture whatever may have been left incomplete at the old Universities of his country. I would give to Lord Grenville and Mr. Pitt for a motto, what was said of a Roman Cenfor or Prætor (or  
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what was he), who in virtue of a *Senatus consultum* shut up certain academies,

“ *Cludere Ludum Impudentiæ jussit.*”

Every honest father of a family in the kingdom will rejoice at the breaking up for the holidays, and will pray that there may be a very long vacation in all such schools.

The awful state of the time, and not myself or my own justification, is my true object in what I now write ; or in what I shall ever write or say. It little signifies to the world what becomes of such things as me, or even as the Duke of Bedford. What I say about either of us is nothing more than a vehicle, as you, my Lord, will easily perceive, to convey my sentiments on matters far more worthy of your attention. It is when I stick to my aparent first subject that I ought to apologize, not when I depart from it. I therefore must beg your Lordship's pardon for again resuming it after this very short digression ; assuring you that I shall never altogether lose sight of such matter as persons abler than I am may turn to some profit.

The

The Duke of Bedford conceives, that he is obliged to call the attention of the House of Peers to his Majesty's grant to me, which he considers as excessive and out of all bounds.

I know not how it has happened, but it really seems, that, whilst his Grace was meditating his well-considered censure upon me, he fell into a sort of sleep. Homer nods; and the Duke of Bedford may dream; and as dreams (even his golden dreams) are apt to be ill-pieced and incongruously put together, his Grace preserved his idea of reproach to *me*, but took the subject-matter from the Crown-grants to *his own family*. This is "the stuff of which his dreams are made." In that way of putting things together his grace is perfectly in the right. The grants to the House of Russel were so enormous, as not only to outrage œconomy, but even to stagger credibility. The Duke of Bedford is the Leviathan among all the creatures of the Crown. He tumbles about his unwieldy bulk; he plays and frolicks in the ocean of the Royal bounty. Huge as he is, and whilst "he lies floating many a rood," he is still a creature. His ribs, his fins, his whalebone, his blubber, the very spiracles through which he spouts a torrent of brine against his origin, and covers me all over with  
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the spray,—every thing of him and about him is from the Throne. Is it for *him* to question the dispensation of the Royal favour?

I really am at a loss to draw any sort of parallel between the publick merits of his Grace, by which he justifies the grants he holds, and these services of mine, on the favourable construction of which I have obtained what his Grace so much disapproves. In private life, I have not at all the honour of acquaintance with the noble Duke. But I ought to presume, and it costs me nothing to do so, that he abundantly deserves the esteem and love of all who live with him. But as to publick service, why truly it would not be more ridiculous for me to compare myself in rank, in fortune, in splendid descent, in youth, strength, or figure, with the Duke of Bedford, than to make a parallel between his services, and my attempts to be useful to my country. It would not be gross adulation, but uncivil irony, to say, that he has any publick merit of his own to keep alive the idea of the services by which his vast landed Pensions were obtained. My merits, whatever they are, are original and personal; his are derivative. It is his ancestor, the original pensioner, that has laid up this inexhaustible fund  
of

of merit, which makes his Grace so very delicate and exceptionous about the merit of all other grantees of the Crown. Had he permitted me to remain in quiet, I should have said 'tis his estate; that's enough. It is his by law; what have I to do with it or it's history? He would naturally have said on his side, 'tis this man's fortune.—He is as good now, as my ancestor was two hundred and fifty years ago. I am a young man with very old pensions; he is an old man with very young pensions,—that's all?

Why will his Grace, by attacking me, force me reluctantly to compare my little merit with that which obtained from the Crown those prodigies of profuse donation by which he tramples on the mediocrity of humble and laborious individuals? I would willingly leave him to the Herald's College, which the philosophy of the Sans culottes, (prouder by far than all the Garters, and Norroys and Clarencieux, and Rouge Dragons that ever pranced in a procession of what his friends call aristocrates and despots) will abolish with contumely and scorn. These historians, recorders, and blazoners of virtues and arms, differ wholly from that other description of historians, who never assign any act of politicians to a good motive. These gentle historians, on the contrary,  
dip

dip their pens in nothing but the milk of human kindness. They seek no further for merit than the preamble of a patent, or the inscription on a tomb. With them every man created a peccator is first an hero ready made. They judge of every man's capacity for office by the offices he has filled; and the more offices the more ability. Every General-officer with them is a Marlborough; every Statesman a Burleigh; every Judge a Murray or a Yorke. They, who live, were laughed at or pitied by all their acquaintance, make as good a figure as the best of them in the pages of Guillim, Edmonson, and Collins.

To these recorders, so full of good nature to the great and prosperous, I would willingly leave the first Baron Ruffel, and Earl of Bedford, and the merits of his grants: But the aulnager, the weigher, the meter of grants, will not suffer us to acquiesce in the judgment of the Prince reigning at the time when they were made. They are never good to those who earn them. Well then; since the new grantees have war made on them by the old, and that the word of the Sovereign is not to be taken, let us turn our eyes to history, in which great men have always a pleasure in contemplating the heroic origin of their house.

The

The first peer of the name, the first purchaser of the grants, was a Mr. Ruffel, a person of an ancient gentleman's family raised by being a minion of Henry the Eighth. As there generally is some resemblance of character to create these relations, the favourite was in all likelihood much such another as his master. The first of those immoderate grants was not taken from the ancient demesne of the Crown, but from the recent confiscation of the ancient nobility of the land. The lion having sucked the blood of his prey, threw the offal carcase to the jackall in waiting. Having tasted once the food of confiscation, the favourites became fierce and ravenous. This worthy favourite's first grant was from the lay nobility. The second, infinitely improving on the enormity of the first, was from the plunder of the church. In truth his Grace is somewhat excusable for his dislike to a grant like mine, not only in its quantity, but in it's kind so different from his own.

Mine was from a mild and benevolent sovereign; his from Henry the Eighth.

Mine had not it's fund in the murder of any innocent person of illustrious rank\*, or in the pillage of any body of unoffending men. His grants were from the aggregate and consolidated funds of judgments iniquitously legal, and from possessions voluntarily surrendered by the lawful proprietors with the gibbet at their door.

The merit of the grantee whom he derives from, was that of being a prompt and greedy instrument of a *levelling* tyrant, who oppressed all descriptions of his people, but who fell with particular fury on every thing that was *great and noble*. Mine has been, in endeavouring to screen every man, in every class, from oppression, and particularly in defending the high and eminent, who in the bad times of confiscating Princes, confiscating chief Governors, or confiscating Demagogues, are the most exposed to jealousy, avarice and envy.

The merit of the original grantee of his Grace's pensions, was in giving his hand to the work, and partaking the spoil with a Prince, who plun-

\* See the history of the melancholy catastrophe of the Duke of Buckingham. Temp. Hen. 8.



dered a part of his national church of his time and country. Mine was in defending the whole of the national church of my own time and my own country, and the whole of the national churches of all countries, from the principles and the examples which lead to ecclesiastical pillage, thence to a contempt of *all* prescriptive titles, thence to the pillage of *all* property, and thence to universal desolation.

The merit of the origin of his Grace's fortune was in being a favourite and chief adviser to a Prince, who left no liberty to their native country. My endeavour was to obtain liberty for the municipal country in which I was born, and for all descriptions and denominations in it.— Mine was to support with unrelaxing vigilance every right, every privilege, every franchise, in this my adopted, my dearer and more comprehensive country; and not only to preserve those rights in this chief seat of empire, but in every nation, in every land, in every climate, language and religion; in the vast domain that still is under the protection, and the larger that was once under the protection, of the British Crown.

His founder's merits were, by arts in which he served his master and made his fortune, to bring poverty, wretchedness and depopulation on his country. Mine were under a benevolent Prince, in promoting the commerce, manufactures and agriculture of his kingdom; in which his Majesty shews an eminent example, who even in his amusements is a patriot, and in hours of leisure an improver of his native soil.

His founder's merit, was the merit of a gentleman raised by the arts of a Court, and the protection of a Wolsey, to the eminence of a great and potent Lord. His merit in that eminence was by instigating a tyrant to injustice, to provoke a people to rebellion.—My merit was, to awaken the sober part of the country, that they might put themselves on their guard against any one potent Lord, or any greater number of potent Lords, or any combination of great leading men of any sort, if ever they should attempt to proceed in the same courses, but in the reverse order, that is, by instigating a corrupted populace to rebellion, and, through that rebellion, introducing a tyranny yet worse than the tyranny which his Grace's ancestor supported, and of which he profited in the manner

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we behold in the despotism of Henry the Eighth.

The political merit of the first pensioner of his Grace's house, was that of being concerned as a counsellor of state in advising, and in his person executing the conditions of a dishonourable peace with France; the surrendering the fortrefs of Boulogne, then our out guard on the Continent. By that surrender, Calais, the key of France, and the bridle in the mouth of that power, was, not many years afterwards, finally lost. My merit has been in resisting the power and pride of France, under any form of it's rule; but in opposing it with the greatest zeal and earnestness, when that rule appeared in the worst form it could assume; the worst indeed which the prime cause and principle of all evil could possibly give it. It was my endeavour by every means to excite a spirit in the house, where I had the honour of a seat, for carrying on with early vigour and decision, the most clearly just and necessary war, that this or any nation ever carried on; in order to save my country from the iron yoke of it's power, and from the more dreadful contagion of its principles; to preserve, while they can be preserved pure and untainted, the ancient, inbred integrity, piety, good

good nature, and good humour of the people of England, from the dreadful pestilence which beginning in France, threatens to lay waste the whole moral, and in a great degree the whole physical world, having done both in the focus of it's most intense malignity.

The labours of his Grace's founder merited the curses, not loud but deep, of the Commons of England, on whom *he* and his master had effected a *complete Parliamentary Reform*, by making them their slavery and humiliation, the true and adequate representatives of a debased, degraded, and undone people. My merits were, in having had an active, though not always an ostentatious share, in every one act, without exception, of undisputed constitutional utility in my time, and in having supported on all occasions, the authority, the efficiency, and the privileges of the Commons of Great Britain. I ended my services by a recorded and fully reasoned assertion on their own journals of their constitutional rights, and a vindication of their constitutional conduct. I laboured in all things to merit their inward approbation, and (along with the assistants of the largest, the greatest, and best of my endeavours) I received their free, unbiassed, publick, and solemn thanks.

Thus

Thus stands the account of the comparative merits of the Crown grants which compose the Duke of Bedford's fortune as balanced against mine. In the name of common sense, why should the Duke of Bedford think, that none but of the House of Russell are entitled to the favour of the Crown? Why should he imagine that no King of England has been capable of judging of merit but King Henry the Eighth? Indeed, he will pardon me; he is a little mistaken; all virtue did not end in the first Earl of Bedford. All discernment did not lose its vision when his Creator closed his eyes. Let him remit his rigour on the disproportion between merit and reward in others, and they will make no enquiry into the origin of his fortune. They will regard with much more satisfaction, as he will contemplate with infinitely more advantage, whatever his pedigree has been dulcified by an exposure to the influence of heaven in a long flow of generations, from the hard, acidulous, metallick tincture of the spring. It is little to be doubted, that several of his forefathers in that long series, have degenerated into honour and virtue. Let the Duke of Bedford (I am sure he will) reject with scorn and horror, the counsels of the lecturers, those wicked panders to avarice and ambition, who would tempt him in the troubles

bles of his country, to seek another enormous fortune from the forfeitures of another nobility, and the plunder of another church. Let him (and I trust that yet he will) employ all the energy of his youth, and all the resources of his wealth, to crush rebellious principles, which have no foundation in morals, and rebellious movements, that have no provocation in tyranny.

Then will be forgot the rebellions, which, by a doubtful priority in crime, his ancestor had provoked and extinguished. On such a conduct in the noble Duke, many of his countrymen might, and with some excuse might, give way to the enthusiasm of their gratitude, and in the dashing style of some of the old declaimers, cry out, that if the fates had found no other way in which they could give a \*Duke of Bedford and his opulence as props to a tottering world, then the butchery of the Duke of Buckingham might be tolerated; it might be regarded even with complacency, whilst in the heir of confiscation they saw the sympathizing comforter of the martyrs, who suffer under the cruel confiscation of this day; whilst they beheld with admiration

\* At si non aliam venturo fata Neroni, &c.

his zealous protection of the virtuous and loyal nobility of France, and his manly support of his brethren, the yet standing nobility and gentry of his native land. Then his Grace's merit would be pure and new, and sharp, as fresh from the mint of honour. As he pleased he might reflect honour on his predecessors, or throw it forward on those who were to succeed him. He might be the propagator of the stock of honour, or the root of it, as he thought proper.

Had it pleased God to continue to me the hopes of succession, I should have been, according to my mediocrity, and the mediocrity of the age I live in, a sort of founder of a family; I should have left a son, who, in all the points in which personal merit can be viewed, in science, in erudition, in genius, in taste, in honour, in generosity, in humanity, in every liberal sentiment, and every liberal accomplishment, would not have shewn himself inferior to the Duke of Bedford, or to any of those whom he traces in his line. His Grace very soon would have wanted all plausibility in his attack upon that provision which belonged more to mine than to me. He would soon have supplied every deficiency, and symmetrized every disproportion. It would not have been for that successor to resort to any flag-

nant 'wasting reservoir of merit in me, or in any ancestry. He had in himself a salient, living spring, of generous and manly action. Every day he lived he would have re-purchased the bounty of the crown, and ten times more, if ten times more he had received. He was made a publick creature; and had no enjoyment whatever, but in the performance of some duty. At this exigent moment, the loss of a finished man is not easily supplied.

But a disposer whose power we are little able to resist, and whose wisdom it behoves us not at all to dispute; has ordained it in another manner, and (whatever my querulous weakness might suggest) a far better. The storm has gone over me; and I lie like one of those old oaks which the late hurricane has scattered about me. I am stripped of all my honours; I am torn up by the roots, and lie prostrate on the earth! There, and prostrate there, I most unfeignedly recognize the divine justice, and in some degree submit to it. But whilst I humble myself before God, I do not know that it is forbidden to repel the attacks of unjust and inconsiderate men. The patience of Job is proverbial. After some of the convulsive struggles of our irritable nature, he submitted himself, and repented in dust and ashes,



ashes. But even so, I do not find him blamed for reprehending, and with a considerable degree of verbal asperity, those ill-natured neighbours of his, who visited his dunghill to read moral, political, and œconomical lectures on his misery. I am alone. I have none to meet my enemies in the gate. Indeed, my Lord, I greatly deceive myself, if in this hard season I would give a peck of refuse wheat for all that is called fame and honour in the world. This is the appetite but of a few. It is a luxury; it is a privilege; it is an indulgence for those who are at their ease. But we are all of us made to shun disgrace, as we are made to shrink from pain, and poverty, and disease. It is an instinct; and under the direction of reason, instinct is always in the right. I live in an inverted order. They who ought to have succeeded me are gone before me. They who should have been to me as posterity are in the place of ancestors. I owe to the dearest relation (which ever must subsist in memory) that act of piety, which he would have performed to me; I owe it to him to shew that he was not descended, as the Duke of Bedford would have it, from an unworthy parent.

The Crown has considered me after long service: the Crown has paid the Duke of Bedford by

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advance.

advance. He has had a long credit for any service which he may perform hereafter. He is secure, and long may he be secure, in his advance, whether he performs any services or not. But let him take care how he endangers the safety of that Constitution which secures his own utility or his own insignificance ; or how he discourages those, who take up, even puny arms, to defend an order of things, which, like the Sun of Heaven, shines alike on the useful and the worthless. His grants are engrafted on the public law of Europe, covered with the awful hoar of innumerable ages. They are guarded by the sacred rules of prescription, found in that full treasury of jurisprudence from which the jejuneness and penury of our municipal law has, by degrees, been enriched and strengthened. This prescription I had my share (a very full share) in bringing to it's perfection \*. The Duke of Bedford will stand as long as prescriptive law endures ; as long as the great stable laws of property, common to us with all civilized nations, are kept in their integrity, and without the smallest intermixture of the laws, maxims, principles, or precedents of the Grand Revolution. They are secure against

\* Sir George Savile's Act, called the *Nullum Tempus* Act.

all changes but one. The whole revolutionary system, institutes, digest, code, novels, text, gloss, comment, are, not only not the same, but they are the very reverse, and the reverse fundamentally, of all the laws, on which civil life has hitherto been upheld in all the governments of the world. The learned professors of the Rights of Man regard prescription, not as a title to bar all claim, set up against old possession—but they look on prescription as itself a bar against the possessor and proprietor. They hold an immemorial possession to be no more than a long continued, and therefore an aggravated injustice.

Such are *their* ideas ; such *their* religion, and such *their* law. But as to *our* country and *our* race, as long as the well compacted structure of our church and state, the sanctuary, the holy of holies of that ancient law, defended by reverence, defended by power, a fortress at once and a temple \*, shall stand inviolate on the brow of the British Sion—as long as the British Monarchy, not more limited than fenced by the orders of the State, shall, like the proud Keep

\* Templum in modum arcis. Tacitus of the Temple of Jerusalem

of Windfor, rising in the majesty of proportion, and girt with the double belt of it's kindred and coeval towers, as long as this awful structure shall oversee and guard the subjected land—so long the mounds and dykes of the low, fat, Bedford level will have nothing to fear from all the pickaxes of all the levellers of France. As long as our Sovereign Lord the King, and his faithful subjects, the Lords and Commons of this realm,—the triple cord, which no man can break; the solemn, sworn, constitutional frank-pledge of this nation; the firm guarantees of each others being, and each others rights; the joint and several securities, each in it's place and order, for every kind and every quality, of property and of dignity—As long as these endure, so long the Duke of Bedford is safe: and we are all safe together—the high from the blights of envy and the spoliations of rapacity; the low from the iron hand of oppression and the insolent spurn of contempt. Amen! and so be it: and so it will be,

*Dum domus Æneæ Capitoli immobile faxum  
Accolet; imperiumque pater Romanus habebit.—*

But if the rude inroad of Gallick tumult, with it's sophistical Rights of Man, to falsify the account,

count, and it's sword as a makeweight to throw into the scale, shall be introduced into our city by a misguided populace, set on by proud great men, themselves blinded and intoxicated by a frantick ambition, we shall, all of us, perish and be overwhelmed in a common ruin. If a great storm blow on our coast, it will cast the whales on the strand as well as the periwinkles. His Grace will not survive the poor grantee he despises, no not for a twelvemonth. If the great look for safety in the services they render this Gallick cause, it is to be foolish, even above the weight of privilege allowed to wealth. If his Grace be one of these whom they endeavour to proselytize, he ought to be aware of the character of the sect, whose doctrines he is invited to embrace. With them, insurrection is the most sacred of revolutionary duties to the state. Ingratitude to benefactors is the first of revolutionary virtues. Ingratitude is indeed their four cardinal virtues compacted and amalgamated into one; and he will find it in every thing that has happened since the commencement of the philosophick revolution to this hour. If he pleads the merit of having performed the duty of insurrection against the order he lives in (God forbid he ever should), the merit of others will

will be to perform the duty of insurrection against him. If he pleads (again God forbid he should, and I do not suspect he will) his ingratitude to the Crown for it's creation of his family, others will plead their right and duty to pay him in kind. They will laugh, indeed they will laugh, at his parchment and his wax. His deeds will be drawn out with the rest of the lumber of his evidence room, and burnt to the tune of *ca ira* in the courts of Bedford (then Equality) House.

Am I to blame, if I attempt to pay his Grace's hostile reproaches to me with a friendly admonition to himself? Can I be blamed, for pointing out to him in what manner he is like to be affected, if the sect of the cannibal philosophers of France should proselytize any considerable part of this people, and, by their joint proselytizing arms, should conquer that Government, to which his Grace does not seem to me to give all the support his own security demands? Surely it is proper, that he, and that others like him, should know the true genius of this sect; what their opinions are; what they have done: and to whom; and what, (if a prognostick is to be formed from the dispositions and actions of men) it is certain they will do hereafter. He  
ought

ought to know, that they have sworn assistance, the only engagement they ever will keep, to all in this country, who bear a resemblance to themselves, and who think as such, that *The whole duty of man* consists in destruction. They are a misallied and disparaged branch of the house of Nimrod. They are the Duke of Bedford's natural hunters; and he is their natural game. Because he is not very profoundly reflecting, he sleeps in profound security: they, on the contrary, are always vigilant, active, enterprising, and though far removed from any knowledge, which makes men estimable or useful, in all the instruments and resources of evil, their leaders are not meanly instructed, or insufficiently furnished. In the French Revolution every thing is new; and, from want of preparation to meet so unlooked for an evil, every thing is dangerous. Never, before this time, was a set of literary men, converted into a gang of robbers and assassins. Never before, did a den of bravoës and banditti, assume the garb and tone of an academy of philosophers.

Let me tell his Grace, that an union of such characters, monstrous as it seems, is not made for producing despicable enemies. But if they are formidable as foes, as friends they are dreadful

dreadful indeed. The men of property in France confiding in a force, which seemed to be irresistible, because it had never been tried, neglected to prepare for a conflict with their enemies at their own weapons. They were found in such a situation as the Mexicans were, when they were attacked by the dogs, the cavalry, the iron, and the gunpowder of an handful of bearded men, whom they did not know to exist in nature. This is a comparison that some, I think, have made; and it is just. In France they had their enemies within their houses. They were even in the bosoms of many of them. But they had not sagacity to discern their savage character. They seemed tame, and even caressing. They had nothing but *douce humanite* in their mouth. They could not bear the punishment of the mildest laws on the greatest criminals. The slightest severity of justice made their flesh creep. The very idea that war existed in the world disturbed their repose. Military glory was no more, with them, than a splendid infamy. Hardly would they hear of self defence, which they reduced within such bounds, as to leave it no defence at all. All this while they meditated the confiscations and massacres we have seen. Had any one told these unfortunate Noblemen and Gentlemen, how, and  
by



by whom, the grand fabrick of the French monarchy under which they flourished would be subverted, they would not have pitied him as a visionary, but would have turned from him as what they call a *mauvais plaisant*. Yet we have seen what has happened. The persons who have suffered from the cannibal philosophy of France, are so like the Duke of Bedford, that nothing but his Grace's probably not speaking quite so good French, could enable us to find out any difference. A great many of them had as pompous titles as he, and were of full as illustrious a race : some few of them had fortunes as ample ; several of them, without meaning the least disparagement to the Duke of Bedford, were as wise, and as virtuous, and as valiant, and as well educated, and as compleat in all the lineaments of men of honour as he is : And to all this they had added the powerful outguard of a military profession, which, in it's nature, renders men somewhat more cautious than those, who have nothing to attend to but the lazy enjoyment of undisturbed possessions. But security was their ruin. They are dashed to pieces in the storm, and our shores are covered with the wrecks. If they had been aware that such a thing might happen, such a thing never could have happened.

I assure his Grace, that if I state to him the designs of his enemies, in a manner which may appear to him ludicrous and impossible, I tell him nothing that has not exactly happened, point by point, but twenty-four mile from our own shore. I assure him that the Frenchified faction, more encouraged, than others are warned, by what has happened in France, look at him and his landed possessions, as an object at once of curiosity and rapacity. He is made for them in every part of their double character. As robbers, to them he is a noble booty : as speculatists, he is a glorious subject for their experimental philosophy. He affords matter for an extensive analysis, in all the branches of their science, geometrical, physical, civil and political. These philosophers are fanaticks ; independent of any interest, which if it operated alone would make them much more tractable, they are carried with such an headlong rage towards every desperate trial, that they would sacrifice the whole human race to the slightest of their experiments. I am better able to enter into the character of this description of men than the noble Duke can be. I have lived long and variously in the World. Without any considerable pretensions to literature in myself, I have aspired

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to the love of letters. I have lived for a great many years in habitudes with those who professed them. I can form a tolerable estimate of what is likely to happen from a character, chiefly dependent for fame and fortune, on knowledge and talent, as well in it's morbid and perverted state, as in that which is sound and natural. Naturally men so formed and finished are the first gifts of Providence to the World. But when they have once thrown off the fear of God, which was in all ages too often the case, and the fear of man, which is now the case, and when in that state they come to understand one another, and to act in corps, a more dreadful calamity cannot arise out of Hell to scourge mankind. Nothing can be conceived more hard than the heart of a thorough-bred metaphysician. It comes nearer to the cold malignity of a wicked spirit than to the frailty and passion of a man. It is like that of the principle of Evil himself; incorporeal, pure, unmixed, dephlegmated, defecated evil. It is no easy operation to eradicate humanity from the human breast. What Shakespeare calls "the compunctious visitings of nature," will sometimes knock at their hearts, and protest against their murderous speculations. But they have a means of compounding with their nature.

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Their humanity is not dissolved. They only give it a long prorogation. They are ready to declare, that they do not think two thousand years too long a period for the good that they pursue. It is remarkable, that they never see any way to their projected good but by the road of some evil. Their imagination is not fatigued, with the contemplation of human suffering thro' the wild waste of centuries added to centuries, of misery and desolation. Their humanity is at their horizon—and, like the horizon, it always flies before them. The geometricians, and the chymists bring, the one from the dry bones of their diagrams, and the other from the foot of their furnaces, dispositions that make them worse than indifferent about those feelings and habitudes, which are the supports of the moral world. Ambition is come upon them suddenly; they are intoxicated with it, and it has rendered them fearless of the danger, which may from thence arise to others or to themselves. These philosophers, consider men in their experiments, no more than they do mice in an air pump, or in a recipient of mephitick gas. Whatever his Grace may think of himself, they look upon him, and every thing that belongs to him, with no more regard than they do upon the whiskers of that little long-tailed

tailed animal, that has been long the game of the grave, demure, insidious, spring-nailed, velvet-pawed, green-eyed philosophers, whether going upon two legs, or upon four.

His Grace's landed possessions are irresistibly inviting to an *agrarian* experiment. They are a downright insult upon the Rights of Man. They are more extensive than the territory of many of the Grecian republicks ; and they are without comparison more fertile than most of them. There are now republicks in Italy, in Germany and in Swisserland, which do not possess any thing like so fair and ample a domain. There is scope for seven philosophers to proceed in their analytical experiments, upon Harington's seven different forms of republicks, in the acres of this one Duke. Hitherto they have been wholly unproductive to speculation ; fitted for nothing but to fatten bullocks, and to produce grain for beer, still more to stupify the dull English understanding. Abbé Sieyes has whole nests of pigeon-holes full of constitutions ready made, ticketed, sorted, and numbered ; suited to every season and every fancy ; some with the top of the pattern at the bottom, and some with the bottom at the top ; some plain, some flowered ; some distinguished for their simplicity ;

simplicity ; others for their complexity ; some of blood colour ; some of *boue de Paris* ; some with directories, others without a direction ; some with councils of elders, and councils of youngsters ; some without any council at all. Some where the electors choose their representatives ; others, where the representatives choose the electors. Some in long coats, and some in short cloaks ; some with pantaloons ; some without breeches. Some with five shilling qualifications ; some totally unqualified. So that no constitution-fancier may go unsuited from his shop, provided he loves a pattern of pillage, oppression, arbitrary imprisonment, confiscation, exile, revolutionary judgment, and legalised premeditated murder, in any shapes into which they can be put. What a pity it is, that the progress of experimental philosophy should be checked by his Grace's monopoly ! Such are their sentiments, I assure him ; such is their language when they dare to speak ; and such are their proceedings, when they have the means to act.

Their geographers, and geometricians, have been some time out of practice. It is some time since they have divided their own country into squares. That figure has lost the charms of its novelty.

novelty. They want new lands for new trials. It is not only the geometricians of the republic that find him a good subject, the chymists have bespoke him after the geometricians have done with him. As the first set have an eye on his Grace's lands, the chymists are not less taken with his buildings. They consider mortar as a very anti-revolutionary invention in it's present state; but properly employed, an admirable material for overturning all establishments. They have found that the gunpowder of *ruins* is far the fittest for making other *ruins*, and so *ad infinitum*. They have calculated what quantity of matter convertible into nitre is to be found in Bedford House, in Woburn Abbey, and in what his Grace and his trustees have still suffered to stand of that foolish royalist Inigo Jones, in Covent Garden. Churches, play-houses, coffee-houses, all alike are destined to be mingled, and equalized, and blended into one common rubbish; and well sifted, and lixiviated, to chrystalize into true democratick explosive insurrectionary nitre. Their Academy del *Cimento* (per antipharfin) with Morveau and Hassenfrats at it's head, have computed that the brave Sans-cullotes may make war on all the aristocracy of Europe for a twelvemonth, out of  
K the

the rubbish of the Duke of Bedford's buildings\*.

While the Morveaux and Priestleys are proceeding with these experiments upon the Duke

\* There is nothing, on which the leaders of the Republic, one and indivisible, value themselves, more than on the chymical operations, by which, through science, they convert the pride of Aristocracy, to an instrument of it's own destruction—on the operations by which they reduce the magnificent ancient country seats of the nobility, decorated with the *feudal* titles of Duke, Marquis, or Earl, into magazines of what they call *revolutionary* gunpowder. They tell us that hitherto things “had not yet been properly and in a “*revolutionary* manner explored.”—“The strong *cha-teaus*, those *feudal* fortresses, that were ordered to be demolished, attracted next the attention of your Committee. “*Nature* there had *secretly* regained her rights, and had produced salt-petre for the purpose, as it should seem, of facilitating the execution of your decree by preparing the means of destruction. From these ruins, which still frown on the liberties of the Republic, we have extracted the means of producing good; and those piles, which have hitherto glutted the pride of Despots, and covered the plots of La Vendée will soon furnish wherewithal to tame the traitors, and to overwhelm the disaffected.”—“The rebellious cities also, have afforded a large quantity of salt-petre. “*Commune Affranchie*, (that is, the noble city of Lyons reduced in many parts to an heap of ruins) and Toulon, will pay a second tribute to our artillery.” Report 1st. February 1794.



of Bedford's houses, the Seieyes, and the rest of the analytical legislators, and constitution-venders, are quite as busy in their trade of decomposing organization, in forming his Grace's vassals into primary assemblies, national guards, first, second and third requisitioners, committees of research, conductors of the travelling guillotine, judges of revolutionary tribunals, legislative hangmen, supervisors of domiciliary visitation, exactors of forced loans, and assessors of the maximum.

The din of all this smithery may some time or other possibly wake this noble Duke, and push him to an endeavour to save some little matter from their experimental philosophy. If he pleads his grants from the Crown, he is ruined at the outset. If he pleads he has received them from the pillage of superstitious corporations, this indeed will stagger them a little, because they are enemies to all corporations, and to all religion. However, they will soon recover themselves, and will tell his Grace, or his learned council, that all such property belongs to the *nation*; and that it would be more wise for him, if he wishes to live the natural term of a *citizen*, (that is, according to Condorcet's calculation, six months on an average,) not to pass

for an usurper upon the national property. This is what the *Serjeants* at law of the Rights of Man, will say to the puny *apprentices* of the common law of England.

Is the Genius of Philosophy not yet known? You may as well think the Garden of the Tuileries was well protected with the cords of ribbon insultingly stretched by the National Assembly to keep the sovereign canaille from intruding on the retirement of the poor king of the French, as that such flimsy cobwebs will stand between the savages of the Revolution and their natural prey. Deep Philosophers are no triflers; brave Sans culottes are no formalists. They will no more regard a Marquis of Tavistock than an abbot of Tavistock; the Lord of Wooburn will not be more respectable in their eyes than the Prior of Wooburn: they will make no difference between the Superior of a Covent Garden of nuns and of a Covent Garden of another description. They will not care a rush whether his coat is long or short; whether the colour be purple or blue and buff. They will not trouble *their* heads, with what part of *his* head, his hair is cut from; and they will look with equal respect on a tonsure and a crop. Their only question will be that of their *Legendre*, or some other of their legislative butchers, How he cuts

cuts up? how he tallows in the cawl or on the kidneys?

Is it not a singular phenomenon, that whilst the Sans culotte Carcase Butchers, and the Philosophers of the shambles, are pricking their dotted lines upon his side, and like the print of the poor ox that we see in the shop windows at Charing Cross, alive as he is, and thinking no harm in the world, he is divided into rumps, and sirloins, and briskets, and into all sorts of pieces, for roasting, boiling, and stewing, that all the while they are measuring *him*, his Grace is measuring *me*; is invidiously comparing the bounty of the Crown with the deserts of the defender of his order, and in the same moment fawning on those who have the knife half out of the sheath—poor innocent!

Pleas'd to the last, he crops the flow'ry food,  
And licks the hand just rais'd to shed his blood.

No man lives too long, who lives to do with spirit, and suffer with resignation, what Providence pleases to command or inflict: but indeed they are sharp incommodities which beset old age. It was but the other day, that on putting in order some things which had been brought here on my taking leave of London for  
ever,

ever, I looked over a number of fine portraits, most of them of persons now dead, but whose society, in my better days, made this a proud and happy place. Amongst these was the picture of Lord Keppel. It was painted by an artist worthy of the subject, the excellent friend of that excellent man from their earliest youth, and a common friend of us both, with whom we lived for many years without a moment of coldness, of peevishness, of jealousy, or of jar, to the day of our final separation.

I ever looked on Lord Keppel as one of the greatest and best men of his age; and I loved and cultivated him accordingly. He was much in my heart, and I believe I was in his to the very last beat. It was after his trial at Portsmouth that he gave me this picture. With what zeal and anxious affection I attended him through that his agony of glory, what part my son in the early flush and enthusiasm of his virtue, and the pious passion with which he attached himself to all my connections, with what prodigality we both squandered ourselves in courting almost every sort of enmity for his sake, I believe he felt, just as I should have felt, such friendship on such an occasion. I partook indeed of this honour, with several of the  
first,

first, and best, and ablest in the kingdom, but I was behind hand with none of them; and I am sure, that if to the eternal disgrace of this nation, and to the total annihilation of every trace of honour and virtue in it, things had taken a different turn from what they did, I should have attended him to the quarter-deck with no less good will and more pride, though with far other feelings, than I partook of the general flow of national joy that attended the justice that was done to his virtue.

Pardon, my Lord, the feeble garrulity of age, which loves to diffuse itself in discourse of the departed great. At my years we live in retrospect alone: and, wholly unfitted for the society of vigorous life, we enjoy, the best balm to all wounds, the consolation of friendship, in those only whom we have lost for ever. Feeling the loss of Lord Keppel at all times, at no time did I feel it so much as on the first day when I was attacked in the House of Lords.

Had he lived, that reverend form would have risen in its place, and with a mild, parental reprehension to his nephew the Duke of Bedford, he would have told him that the favour of that gracious prince, who had honoured his virtues  
with

with the government of the navy of Great Britain, and with a seat in the hereditary great council of his kingdom, was not undeservedly shewn to the friend of the best portion of his life, and his faithful companion and counsellor under his rudest trials. He would have told him, that to whomever else these reproaches might be becoming, they were not decorous in his near kindred. He would have told him that when men in that rank lose decorum, they lose every thing.

On that day I had a loss in Lord Keppel ; but the public loss of him in this awful crisis—! I speak from much knowledge of the person, he never would have listened to any compromise with the rabble rout of this Sans Cullotterie of France. His goodness of heart, his reason, his taste, his publick duty, his principles, his prejudices, would have repelled him for ever from all connection with that horrid medley of madness, vice, impiety, and crime.

Lord Keppel had two countries ; one of descent, and one of birth. Their interests and their glory are the same ; and his mind was capacious of both. His family was noble and it was Dutch : that is, he was of the

the oldest and purest nobility that Europe can boast, among a people renowned above all others for love of their native land. Though it was never shewn in insult to any human being, Lord Kepple was something high. It was a wild stock of pride, on which the tenderest of all hearts had grafted the milder virtues. He valued ancient nobility; and he was not disinclined to augment it with new honours. He valued the old nobility and the new, not as an excuse for inglorious sloth, but as an incitement to virtuous activity. He considered it as a sort of cure for selfishness and a narrow mind: conceiving that a man born in an elevated place, in himself was nothing, but every thing in what went before, and what was to come after him. Without much speculation, but by the sure instinct of ingenuous feelings, and by the dictates of plain unsophisticated natural understanding, he felt, that no great Commonwealth could by any possibility long subsist, without a body of some kind or other of nobility, decorated with honour, and fortified by privilege. This nobility forms the chain that connects the ages of a nation, which otherwise (with Mr Paine) would soon be taught that no one generation can bind another. He felt that no political fabrick could be well made without some such order of things

as might, through a series of time, afford a rational hope of securing unity, coherence, consistency, and stability to the state. He felt that nothing else can protect it against the levity of courts, and the greater levity of the multitude. That to talk of hereditary monarchy without any thing else of hereditary reverence in the Commonwealth, was a low-minded absurdity; fit only for those detestable “fools aspiring to to be knaves,” who began to forge in 1789, the false money of the French Constitution—That it is one fatal objection to all *new* fancied and *new fabricated* Republics, (among a people, who, once possessing such an advantage, have wickedly and insolently rejected it,) that the *prejudice* of an old nobility is a thing that *cannot* be made. It may be improved, it may be corrected, it may be replenished: men may be taken from it, or aggregated to it, but the *thing itself* is matter of *inveterate* opinion, and therefore *cannot* be matter of mere positive institution. He felt, that this nobility, in fact does not exist in wrong of other orders of the state, but by them, and for them.

I knew the man I speak of; and, if we can divine the future, out of what we collect from the past, no person living would look with more  
scorn



scorn and horror on the impious parricide committed on all their ancestry, and on the desperate attainder passed on all their posterity, by the Orleans, and the Rochefoucaults, and the Fayettes, and the Viscomtes de Noailles, and the false Perigords, and the long *et cætera* of the perfidious Sans Culottes of the court, who like demoniacks, possessed with a spirit of fallen pride, and inverted ambition, abdicated their dignities, disowned their families, betrayed the most sacred of all trusts, and by breaking to pieces a great link of society, and all the cramps and holdings of the state brought eternal confusion and desolation on their country. For the fate of the miscreant parricides themselves he would have had no pity. Compassion for the myriads of men, of whom the world was not worthy, who by their means have perished in prisons, or on scaffolds, or are pining in beggary and exile, would leave no room in his, or in any well-formed mind, for any such sensation. We are not made at once to pity the oppressor and the oppressed.

Looking to his Batavian descent, how could he bear to behold his kindred, the descendants of the brave nobility of Holland, whose blood prodigally poured out, had, more than all the ca-

nals meers, and inundations of their country, protected their independence, to behold them bowed in the basest servitude, to the basest and vilest of the human race ; in servitude to those who in no respect, were superior in dignity, or could aspire to a better place than that of hangmen to the tyrants, to whose sceptered pride they had opposed an elevation of soul, that surmounted, and overpowered the loftiness of Castile, the haughtiness of Austria, and the overbearing arrogance of France ?

Could he with patience bear, that the children of that nobility, who would have deluged their country and given it to the sea, rather than submit to Louis XIV. who was then in his meridian glory, when his arms were conducted by the Turennes, by the Luxembourgs, by the Boufflers, when his councils were directed by the Colberts, and the Louvois ; when his tribunals were filled by the Lamoignons and the Dagueffaus---that these should be given up to the cruel sport of the Pichegru's, the Jourdans, the Santerres, under the Rolands, and Brissots, and Gorfes, and Robespierres, the Reubels, the Carnots, and Talliens, and Dantons, and the whole tribe of Regicides, robbers, and revolutionary judges, that, from the rotten carcase of  
their

their own murdered country, have poured out innumerable swarms of the lowest, and at once the most destructive of the classes of animated nature, which like columns of locusts, have laid waste the fairest part of the world?

Would Kepple have born to see the ruin of the virtuous Patricians, that happy union of the noble and the burgher, who with signal prudence and integrity, had long governed the cities of the confederate Republick, the cherishing fathers of their country, who, denying commerce to themselves, made it flourish in a manner unexampled under their protection? Could Kepple have borne that a vile faction should totally destroy this harmonious construction, in favour of a robbing Democracy, founded on the spurious rights of man?

He was no great clerk, but he was perfectly well versed in the interests of Europe, and he could not have heard with patience, that the country of Grotius, the cradle of the Law of Nations, and one of the richest repositories of all Law, should be taught a new code by the ignorant flippancy of Thomas Paine, the presumptuous foppery of La Fayette, with his stolen rights of man in his hand, the wild profligate  
intrigue

intrigue and turbulency of Marat, and the impious sophistry of Condorcet, in his insolent addressees to the Batavian Republick?

Could Keppel, who idolized the house of Nassau, who was himself given to England, along with the blessings of the British and Dutch revolutions; with revolutions of stability; with revolutions which consolidated and married the liberties and the interests of the two nations for ever, could he see the fountain of British liberty itself in servitude to France? Could he see with patience a Prince of Orange expelled as a sort of diminutive despot, with every kind of contumely, from the country, which that family of deliverers had so often rescued from slavery, and obliged to live in exile in another country, which owes it's liberty to his house?

Would Keppel have heard with patience, that the conduct to be held on such occasions was to become short by the knees to the faction of the homicides, to intreat them quietly to retire? or if the fortune of war should drive them from their first wicked and unprovoked invasion, that no security should be taken, no arrangement made, no barrier formed, no alliance entered into for the security of that, which under a foreign

reign

reign name is the most precious part of England? What would he have said, if it was even proposed that the Austrian Netherlands (which ought to be a barrier to Holland, and the tie of an alliance, to protect her against any species of rule that might be erected, or even be restored in France) should be formed into a republick under her influence and dependent upon her power?

But above all, what would he have said, if he had heard it made a matter of accusation against me, by his nephew the Duke of Bedford, that I was the author of the war? Had I a mind to keep that high distinction to myself, as from pride I might, but from justice I dare not, he would have snatched his share of it from my hand, and held it with the grasp of a dying convulsion to his end.

It would be a most arrogant presumption in me to assume to myself the glory of what belongs to his Majesty, and to his Ministers, and to his Parliament, and to the far greater majority of his faithful people: But had I stood alone to counsel, and that all were determined to be guided by my advice, and to follow it implicitly—then I should have been the sole author of a war. But it should have been a war on  
my

my ideas and my principles. However let his Grace think as he may of my demerits with regard to the war with Regicide, he will find my guilt confined to that alone. He never shall, with the faintest colour of reason, accuse me of being the author of a peace with Regicide. But that is high matter; and ought not to be mixed with any thing of so little moment, as what may belong to me, or even to the Duke of Bedford.

I have the honour to be, &c.

EDMUND BURKE.

*Simprim*

CIRCUMSTANTIAL DETAILS  
OF THE  
*Long Illness and last Moments*  
OF THE RIGHT HON.  
CHARLES JAMES FOX.  
TOGETHER WITH  
STRICTURES  
ON  
HIS PUBLIC AND PRIVATE LIFE.  
DEDICATED TO THE RIGHT HON.  
LORD MORPETH.

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THE SECOND EDITION.

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1806.

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[Price Two Shillings and Sixpence.]





## ADVERTISEMENT.

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THAT the reader may not expect from the following sheets what the author never intended, it may be necessary previously to inform him, that the contents of these pages are expressed with precision in the title. It is a *circumstantial detail of the long illness and last moments of a Statesman*, whose sentiments and sufferings cannot but awaken general interest. The public life of Mr. Fox belongs to more important works. Of his private life we have given detached sketches, which will facilitate the knowledge of his character.

It was the advice of one who had an unusual insight into human character, not to judge of a man till he was dying or dead. Let me see him in his hour of pain, when the soul is in its state of contest, and I see and know the man.

In the following pages, the reader will see Mr. Fox in this point of view. Let him form his conclusion; we wish not to bias him.

[illegible]

1. The first of these is the fact that the majority of the population of the United States is now living in urban areas. This is a result of the process of urbanization, which has been going on since the beginning of the 20th century. The process of urbanization is the movement of people from rural areas to urban areas. This is a result of the fact that urban areas offer more opportunities for employment and education than rural areas do. The process of urbanization has led to the growth of large cities and the decline of small towns and villages. This has had a significant impact on the way of life in the United States. The majority of the population now lives in urban areas, and this has led to a number of changes in the way of life. For example, the majority of the population now lives in large cities, and this has led to a number of changes in the way of life. The majority of the population now lives in large cities, and this has led to a number of changes in the way of life. The majority of the population now lives in large cities, and this has led to a number of changes in the way of life.

TO

THE RIGHT HON.

LORD MORPETH.

MY LORD,

*THE subject of the following sheets, unhappily but too near the heart of your Lordship, redeems even an unauthorized dedication from the necessity of excuse. If your Lordship felt less, it might be necessary for me to say more.*

*The purpose of these pages, my Lord, is to give the public a faithful detail of the last moments of your friend—your instructor. I had almost added, my Lord, of your father. If, in the ordinary sense of that sacred word, the peerage would not here bear me out, I would make my appeal to the Roman philosopher.—*

“ Si

“ Si animus, et non corpus, homo est ; et  
 “ Plato is est qui cogitat, et scribit, et do-  
 “ cet, et non qui ambulat, dormit et edit,  
 “ pater ille verus est, qui animum format et  
 “ instruit ad virtutem et sapientiam.”

*It was, indeed, the peculiar praise of Mr. Fox, that he took peculiar delight in those acts which united public and private good. He communicated what he had learned with as much avidity, as that with which he had learned it. In this sense of the word, he had the spirit of proselytism. What Dryden says of the libertinism of Charles the Second, with a kind of courtly irony, that he took a peculiar delight*

“ To multiply his image through the land,”

*Was true in a better sense of Mr. Fox. Perhaps no statesman has ever formed more young men. He was never weary of this patriotic benevolence : he had learned it of Mr. Burke.*

*If*

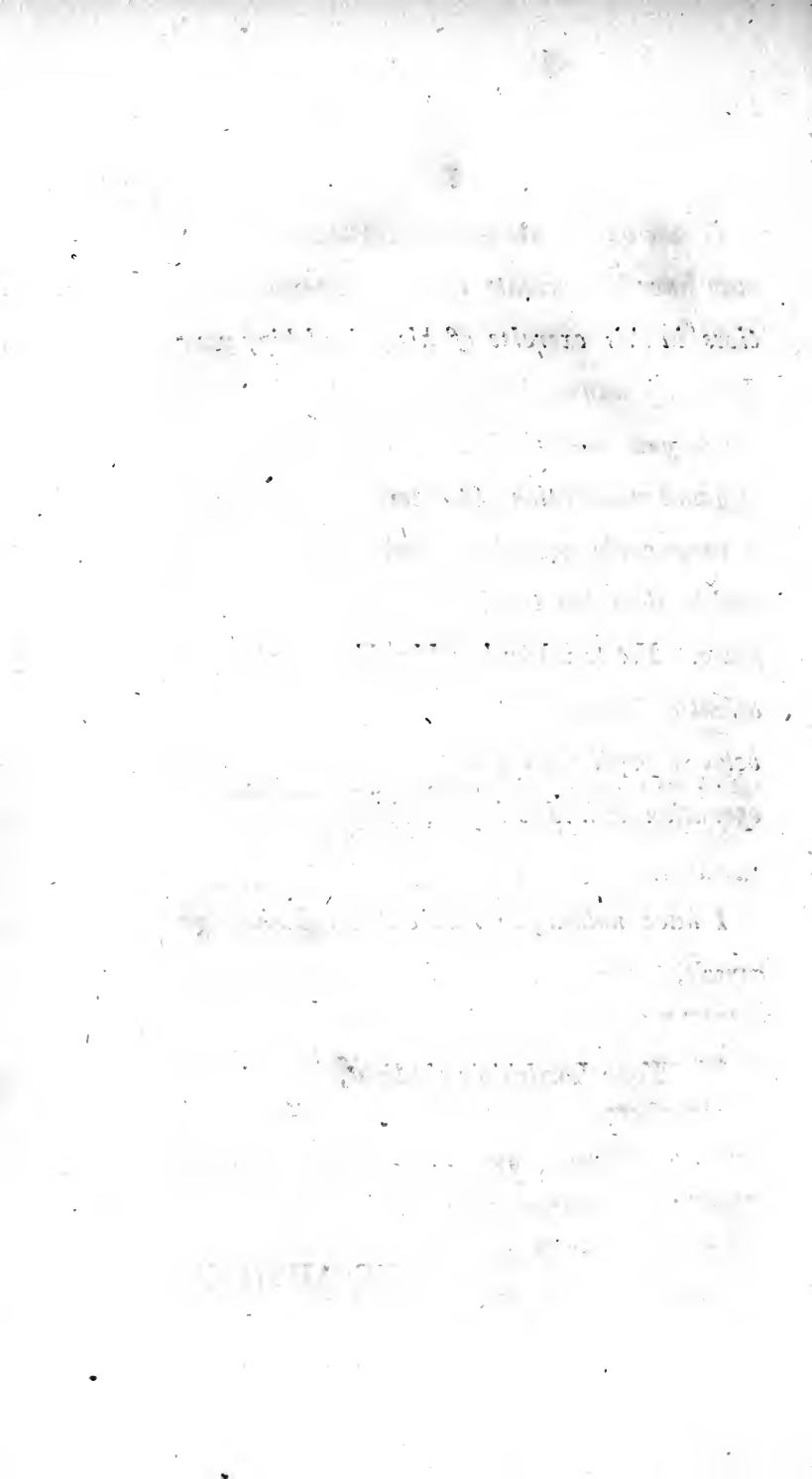
*If any one should here object that Mr. Fox may have had private and less generous motives in this exercise of his friendship, your Lordship may vindicate him. Your ample fortune—your noble alliance—your peculiar felicity and moderation of temper—induced you at a very early period, to make your election, and to shun the troubled deep of power and place. Yet to whom has Mr. Fox been a more attentive instructor? Who has been a more beloved pupil than one from whose active co-operation he had to hope nothing.*

*I have nothing to add but to acknowledge myself,*

*Your Lordship's obedient,*

*Humble Servant,*

THE AUTHOR.



## CIRCUMSTANTIAL DETAILS,

&c. &c. &c.



NO life has confessedly been more active than that of Mr. Fox. Whatever may be the difference of opinion as to the character of his politics, as to his views, and their probable event—there can be but one sentiment as to the occupation of his life. Every one must unite in opinion, that his life has passed in no ordinary manner. That Mr. Fox was not one of those men who are born *fruges consumere*, to spend their estates, and go out of the world with as little consequence as they came in. Mr. Fox was not one of these

cyphers—he had not as yet attained those limits, at which the laws of the land, forming their estimate according to the ordinary course of the human mind, permits the power of action, when he became at once an actor on the public stage, and entered at the same moment into manhood and the public service. It was the custom amongst our barbarous ancestors, in common with the ancient Germans, to hold solemn assemblies for the admission and enrolment of their youths into the class of men; at which assemblies, such as had attained the suitable age, presented themselves, when a spear and shield was put into their hands, and they were thus, in the same moment, enrolled into manhood, and the service of their country. It was the same with Mr. Fox. He took the spear and shield, and stood forth, almost in the same moment, a man and a legislator. If the life of such a character cannot be indifferent, surely the death—the last glow of the embers of expiring life, cannot but equally interest. If there is a moment in which the natural generosity  
of



of the human mind more tenderly loves its friends, and forgets every thing in its sympathy even for its enemies, it is that in which all their power of good or harm must be alike extinguished in the grave. There is something peculiarly sacred in this word,—it animates love, deadens enmity ; and, calling the mind to consider the common lot of all, exalts it above the transitory passions of the day.

It is by such feelings that we have been actuated in the following pages. We have hence concluded, that even the slight circumstances here related could not but be grateful to the public, as in many respects rendering a public character more known, and correcting errors which malice had spread, and ignorance incautiously adopted. The friends of Mr. Fox will here learn, that he died as he lived, with magnanimity and confidence.

The adversaries of Mr. Fox will be com-

pelled to acknowledge one important truth, that Mr. Fox loved his country, and thought anxiously upon its interest in his last moments.

These are the limits and purpose of the following short narrative: many of the friends of Mr. Fox were unhappily remote from him in the last part of his mortal career. Many, though exhorted to hasten up, if they had any desire to see their friend once more, flattered themselves that the danger was less imminent, and that the delay of a few days was immaterial. Some of these arrived in the actual moment of his death. It will be readily conceived that the daily detail of the progress of Mr. Fox, could not but be matter of the most lively interest to these gentlemen. The writer of these pages, as in some degree connected with the person of Mr. Fox, was known to most of his more immediate friends; he was moreover on the spot, and as such was requested by many of these gentlemen

gentlemen to write by every post the course and progress of the disease. It will be seen that he very early expected, what to the public misfortune has now occurred. This expectation induced him to keep copies of one or more of his several letters. From these copies is the detail now before the public compiled.

He hopes that it will not be objected to him that what he has related as spoken by Mr. Fox, was private, and should not have been published by a casual hearer—he has only to reply, that he is not aware of any consequences which the publication can have. What he has communicated relates to subjects assuredly harmless, though from the importance of their object, necessarily interesting.

My personal knowledge of Mr. Fox commenced about seven years since, a period of his life in which he was seen to most advantage. Domestic circumstances threw me at  
that

that time, into his immediate neighbourhood. As I had not there obtained that success in my profession, to which I flatter myself my industry and long study under a master, certainly not the least celebrated, had in some degree led me to expect, I had become almost weary of it, and turned my thoughts to a very different and more attractive pursuit—dramatic literature.

This was the circumstance that introduced me to Mr. Fox. This eminent statesman resided at that period at St. Anne's Hill, Chertsey; from which no invitations of his friends could tempt him to any long absence.—My house was about two miles from St. Anne's. In my walks I daily and almost hourly met Mr. Fox. Between Staines and Chertsey is the village of Laleham; from St. Anne's Hill to this village is a delightful walk, by a path across the fields. Mr. Fox was almost daily in this walk. I knew therefore where to meet him, and it was some satisfaction

tisfaction to gain even a passing glance at a man of Mr. Fox's reputation.

I had scarcely finished my first drama, before I began to doubt that I had mistaken my talent, and, in disgust of my profession, adopted a kind of laborious idleness, which would be less profitable to me than even my own narrow business. I thought my drama somewhat too *sombre* for a comedy. I wished much for the opinion of a good critic—To whom should I apply—I knew no one.—The reader will smile—I sent my drama to a celebrated physician now deceased; the worthy patron of my earlier years.—I was not satisfied with the opinion of this excellent man—He gave it as his decided sentiment, that my drama was too grave, and would not be tolerated—A sudden thought suggested itself, and I sent it to Mr. Fox, who at that time was unacquainted even with my name.

I am the more particular in these circumstances,

stances, as they bear a reference to the private life of Mr. Fox, and throw some light on his character, as a man and a gentleman. It is from these circumstances, circumstances in the privacy of domestic life, circumstances which were never intended, and never expected to meet the public view—that character must be inferred; the decorum of life and manners requires some restraint, some dress and preparation, all which disguise the man, and veil him from the eye. In these smaller circumstances of private life, there is no disguise, no masque, the mind acts from impulse, and shews itself in its natural features.

I give the letter which accompanied my drama, as necessary to explain the transaction.

*To the Hon. Charles James Fox.*

SIR,

I KNOW not how to excuse the trouble of the present application, except

cept by imputing it to its true cause—a confidence in your goodness, and general sympathy in the interest of others.

The Drama which accompanies this, is written by a man who is unused to the drama, but from long habit and education, has a passionate attachment to letters in general. May I presume, Sir, to request your perusal—may I advance one step farther, and humbly solicit your opinion.

I am, Sir,

With profound respect,

Your devoted humble servant,

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I accordingly sent my drama, accompanied with this letter, to Mr. Fox, to St. Anne's Hill. In the course of the afternoon I received an answer by one of Mrs. Armsted's servants. "Mr. Fox's compliments to Mr. —, and in his present leisure has to thank Mr. — for the perusal of his drama."

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This note needs no comment. The delicate benevolence by which an almost inexcusable liberty on my part was converted into a favour, as furnishing him with occupation in his present leisure, exhibits at once an image of the man both in disposition and manners.

Mr. Fox accordingly read my drama, and according to the usual candour of his character, gave me his opinion; which, as nearly as I can now recal to my memory, was, that he saw proofs of such ability in it, that he recommended me to throw it into the fire in revenge for its having occupied so much time. I literally took his advice, and by his desire gave up all thoughts of the drama.

From this day I enjoyed the acquaintance of Mr. Fox; and I believe it has been my own fault, that in point of pecuniary affairs it has not turned out more to my advantage. Thus far I think it necessary to add,  
that



that Mr. Fox, some years since, often anxiously inquired into the state of my affairs, and more than once offered me a loan of some amount. Mr. Fox at that time lived almost solitarily. I have been at St. Anne's Hill day after day without seeing the arrival of a single visitor; I had almost forgotten here to except the late Duke of Bedford, and his brothers, who seldom missed a day, one or the other of that noble family making it a point of duty to make these daily visits.

The limits of these pages will not admit me to enter into the public life of Mr. Fox, but I will here and there correct some misrepresentations, and add some particulars, which may not be uninteresting to his friends and the public.

No part of the life of Mr. Fox has been so much a subject of misrepresentation as the period of his separation from Mr. Burke. I can take upon myself to say, that Mr. Fox

felt this to the last day of his life. Mr. Fox, both before and after the public declaration of Mr. Burke's resolution, spared no efforts, and scarcely any submissions to effect a reconciliation, but Mr. Burke constantly replied —“Will he pronounce the renunciation?”

This referred to a most singular paper, drawn up by Mr. Burke, and containing a formal renunciation of the principles of the French revolution, with a promise that he would never again propose a reform in Parliament, or the abolition of the Test. This paper Mr. Burke insisted that Mr. Fox should make a part of his speech in a full House. Mr. Burke was moreover under some pretext to procure a call of the House, that nothing might be wanting to the impossibility “of future apostacy.”

Mr. Fox could of course not submit to this indignity; but though the mutual friends of both continued to interpose; though the late excellent Duchess of Devonshire followed

followed Mr. Burke as his shadow with this benevolent purpose; though Mr. Windham, the favourite, and almost-adopted son of Mr. Burke, was here said to have united his efforts; all was in vain, Mr. Burke was inflexible. To one of these applications he replied in these words:

“ My separation from Mr. Fox is a principle and not a passion; I hold it as a sacred duty to confirm what I have said and written, by this sacrifice; and to what purpose would be the re-union of a moment; I can have no delight with him; nor he with me.”

Mr. Burke accordingly adhered to his purpose. This great man, indeed, carried every thing to excess. It is not generally known that he entertained the most passionate abhorrence of Mr. Sheridan. It would be indecorous to repeat what he has said of this gentleman. Suffice it to say, that for the ten latter years of his life he made it an invariable

riable rule to leave not the apartment—but even the town, when he heard that Mr. Sheridan had entered it.

To the late Duke of Bedford Mr. Burke was, perhaps, equally hostile. He once said of him in a public company, that he gave the lie to the line of Pope—That an honest man was the noblest work of Heaven. “There is the Duke of Bedford,” said he, “who is honest as a Duke, and what is perhaps more, would be honest even as a labouring thresher, yet is he a man without religion—without one dignified sentiment. He purchased the chateaus and forfeited lands of the nobility in France, and then supported revolutionary principles at home. He is thought an exemplary man, because he is of an even temper, which has not substance enough to be ruffled; and you call him a patriot, because, having that cunning which understands and pursues his own interest, he pulls down the house in which he was born; ploughs up the garden  
in

in which the spirit of his father still flitted, that he might improve his fortune by building streets."

These conversations and remarks of Mr. Burke were invariably reported, or transmitted to Mr. Fox; but so permanent was his attachment to Mr. Burke, that nothing could eradicate it. The friends of Mr. Fox knew this so well, that with the exception of Mr. Sheridan they spoke of Mr. Burke at St. Anne's with temper and respect. One gentleman, I cannot now recal his name, said, in the presence of Mr. Fox, there being a private dinner party at St. Anne's—that Mr. Burke was a sophist, and would be thought nothing of but for his dazzling eloquence. Mr. Fox immediately replied, that he thought very differently. "The eloquence of Mr. Burke," said he, "rather injures his reputation; it is a veil over his wisdom: remove his eloquence, reduce his language, and withdraw his images, and you will find that he was more wise than he was eloquent; you will have  
your

your full weight of the metal, though you should melt down the chasing."

Lord Holland, I believe, was present at this conversation, and going out of the room, brought in one of Mr. Burke's pamphlets, and asked Mr. Fox to produce a passage which justified this remark. Mr. Fox turned over a few pages, and then taking a pen, scratched out a few words, and substituted others. I do not now remember the passage. He read it, however, and every one assented to the justice of his observation.

I do not wish to trespass upon what may be thought confidential, and therefore, for the most part, will avoid living characters; his opinion, however, of one or two, I will venture not to pass over.

The conversation at St. Anne's once turned upon Mr. Windham. Mr. Adair was present, and I believe introduced it by \* \* \* \*, Mr. Fox said, "That Mr. Windham was indeed

indeed a very singular character; that he was almost the only man whom he had ever known who was a thinking man without being a grave man—(he explained this word grave by the Latin term *vir gravis et constans*); a meditating man, with so much activity; and a reading man, with so much practical knowledge. He is so absent that Sheridan once betted that he would introduce the Dutchess of Devonshire to him, and say, I met Mrs. Windham by the way, Sir, and took a seat in her carriage home, and Mr. Windham would not know the difference. Mr. Sheridan's bet was not taken, or I am persuaded that he would have won it. I once saw him stir the fire, and take the poker out of the room at St. James's."

Even during the period of separation of Mr. Fox and Windham, the former always spoke of the latter in the same manner.—He sometimes indeed lamented, when he heard that Mr. Windham was uninterruptedly at Beaconsfield. The attachment of

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this gentleman to Mr. Burke was indeed ardent, and the latter re-paid it with the same warmth. It is indeed not difficult to conceive that these two great men should be thus united.

During this period, that is to say, between his first separation from Mr. Burke, to the death of that venerable man, Mr. Fox was daily pestered with the most insulting letters, with the signature of "An Elector of Westminster." There was no remedy for this vexation. Mr. Fox upon receiving the letters, would throw them on the table—"there, are another score of electors." He would then open them, and look at the subscription; if he saw the word Elector—"Here's more paper for the cook," said he, and throwing it on the ground, proceeded in the same manner with all the others. "Lord North," said he, "read every thing that was written against him, and rewarded those who wrote wittily; I cannot imitate him, for I could wish to believe that I have no enemies."

Mr.



Mr. Fox particularly excelled in giving the characters of those with whom he had lived and acted; he used to say, Lord N—— was sensible only to one argument, and that was drawn from domestic life; Lady North possessed him under the most passive obedience. A trick was once played him by Colonel Barre, during the debates on the American War; the Colonel had a valet, who possessed a surprising dexterity in the imitation of hands. The opposition were eager to defer a debate, which the ministry were as anxious to bring on. The House had accordingly met, and Lord North was on the Treasury Bench, when a note was put in his hand. The debate was immediately deferred upon some pretext, which is never wanting to a Minister. The contents of the note were merely,

MY LORD,

I MUST beg you to make a point of being home at five o'clock, as I expect my mother to dinner.

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The hand-writing of Lady North was so well imitated, that Lord North was effectually deceived, and the opposition carried their point.

Mr. Fox has repeatedly said, that he never saw Lord North out of temper but once, and that was, when a gentleman of some importance in his party demanded of him in the first place an appointment for himself, which was readily granted. There is still another favour, said the gentleman, that I have to ask of your Lordship, the appointment of ———. Why, you are mad surely, said Lord North. Is it necessary to inform you, that that place must be held by a woman? Well, my Lord, replied the gentleman, I want it for my wife; what your Lordship has been pleased to give me is a liberal provision for myself, but if I have to make out of it any allowance for my wife and seven children—Allowance to your wife and children, Sir! what, don't you live with them, then? said Lord North. No, said the other, smiling,

smiling, surely your Lodship knew that I live with Fanny D——. Indeed, Sir, I knew no such thing, replied Lord North, and I must beg you to permit our acquaintance to drop here. I regret that, having passed my word for the appointment, it is past recal. Lord North here opened the door, and continued bowing till the gentleman had left the room, and never admitted him into his house afterwards.

It always appeared to me that Mr. Fox had a very lively regard for Lord North, as he never mentioned him but in a strain of eulogy. He said that he was the most accomplished wit he had ever known; and in domestic life, in the circle of friends and followers, when collected at his table, had all the candour of Walpole without the grossness. He appeared as if he never felt an insult, so immediately did he forgive it. His face was very plain, and his features coarse, but his smile was heavenly. You could not see him without becoming attached

tached to him. He left all his cares and arts in the House of Commons, and was no longer a Minister than whilst on the Treasury Bench.

Mr. Fox received the first intelligence of the last illness of Mr. Burke in a letter from Lord Fitzwilliam. Mr. Fox was sensibly affected. When he afterwards learned that it must necessarily terminate fatally, he was agitated as with the expectation of a great calamity; in this state of mind he wrote to Mrs. Burke, expressing his intention of *passing through* Beaconsfield; to this letter he received by an express the day following the answer which follows:

“ Mrs. Burke’s compliments to Mr. Fox, and thanks him for his obliging inquiries. Mrs. Burke communicated his letter to Mr. Burke, and by his desire has to inform Mr. Fox, that it has cost Mr. Burke the most heartfelt pain to obey the stern voice of his duty in rending asunder a long friendship,  
but

but that he had effected this necessary sacrifice; that his principles remained the same; and that in whatever of life yet remained to him, he conceives that he must continue to live for others, and not for himself. Mr. Burke is convinced that the principles which he has endeavoured to maintain, are necessary to the good and dignity of his country, and that these principles can be enforced only by the general persuasion of his sincerity. For herself, Mrs. Burke has again to express her gratitude to Mr. Fox for his anxious inquiries."

Thus terminated for ever the connection of Mr. Burke and Mr. Fox. Mr. Fox wept bitterly when he learned the death of this venerable man.

He continued to preserve during his life his early veneration for this great man.—When Lord Lauderdale once said in his presence, that Mr. Burke was a splendid madman, Mr. Fox said, "it was difficult to  
say

say whether he was mad or inspired ; whether one or the other, every one must agree that he is a prophet." Is he not an enemy to the liberty of mankind ? There is the point in dispute, said Mr. Fox ; I know that he loves mankind, and has no limits to his benevolence.

Mr. Fox entertained a very high regard for Lord Stanhope, till it was entirely done away by an incident which it is not within the purpose of these pages to mention. He used to say of him, that had he applied his talents to finance, he would have been the first financier in Europe.

The character of a man is best collected from his domestic life. I had at this period an opportunity of seeing him every day, and seldom neglected it ; there was much uniformity in his life ; he was a very early riser. On the western extremity of St. Anne's Hill is a solitary beech-tree growing on a narrow platform, elevated above the general surface

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of the Hill. From this point is a most extensive view of the Vale of the Thames from Chertsey to Windsor. This was a favourite spot with Mr. Fox; he had caused a seat to be made around the tree. This was his walk before breakfast.

He was so attached to study, that he had formed to himself a certain daily plan, to which he adhered so inflexibly, that he was sometimes even impatient when necessarily interrupted. I cannot give the particulars of this plan, though from the frequent recurrence of many parts of it, I can assert that he had formed one, and adhered to it rigidly. An hour before his breakfast he always dedicated to one study; the acquisition of a new language, or the recollection of one in some degree obliterated; he was learning Spanish at the time of which I am speaking. His method of learning a language was very singular; after one week's labour at his grammar; getting by memory the declinable parts, the verbs, substantives, and adjectives,

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he proceeded immediately to some classic author of the language, and he laboured at his dictionary till he had read him. The syntax he learned by reference as the examples occurred.

After his breakfast he usually read till two o'clock: his reading was in a certain method; he was reading the history of the latter empire, and comparing Gibbon with the writers whom he has quoted as his authorities. He used to say of this author and Hume, that the one so loved a king, and the other so hated a priest, that they were neither of them to be depended upon, where either a priest or a king was concerned. Gibbon, said he, moreover, has quoted many books as authority of which he had only read the preface. He produced a singular instance of this, where Gibbon has quoted a passage as being in the third book of a writer whose work is divided into two books only. Gibbon was led into this error by the transcriber of the preface of the book



book quoted, who, in transcribing the passage, has made the same error.

Mr. Fox disliked the florid stile and verbiage of Gibbon as much as he approved his historic concentration. He thinks like Tacitus, said he, and writes like Curtius. In many parts of the Gibbon, which he used, he had obliterated the unnecessary words with a pen; this was a practice very frequent with him. His Gibbon would be curious and interesting to the public. I believe it is in the possession of Lord Lauderdale.

Mr. Fox's bookseller sent Godwin's Political Justice to him; Mr. Fox read about half a dozen pages in the middle of the book; his practice with regard to modern books before he gave them a reading. Godwin did not suit him; he did what he had seldom done before, returned it to his bookseller.

Adam Smith was likewise a favourite elemental book ; but he used to observe of him, that he was tedious, formal beyond the necessity of his work, and too fond of deduction where there was nothing to deduce ; he proves where no one can doubt ; and enters upon a chain of reasoning to produce a most unmeaning result. He used to say, that however close and dry he had written, one half of his book might be omitted with much benefit to the subject. He spoke with contempt of the works of Turgot. He said that the French had not liberty enough to understand finance and political economy. He spoke with respect of Henry's History of England, but often expressed his surprise at Belsham's George the Third—"That a man with his eyes open would write in this manner!" said he.

Mr. Fox was not a modern philosopher: however singular, he held them in hearty contempt ; a contempt most significantly expressed by never reading their works. Mr.

Fox

Fox was not an infidel, but he had his own religion. He once said of Dunning, that he was the most profligate Christian, and Christian profligate, that had ever lived. Dunning used to say, that no such written evidence of acts so remote existed as the Four Gospels; that they would be good evidence in a court of justice, and before a common jury. When the difference of the narrative of the same events was objected, Mr. Dunning said, let two persons relate the circumstances of the battle of Minden, one just coming from the battle, and one who was equally present at the battle, and related it ten years afterwards, and reconcile them if you can. Mr. Fox said that Dunning had the strongest head of any lawyer within his memory.

It was at this period that Mr. Fox received an admonitory letter from one of the most celebrated men in England. The subject of this letter was very singular. The letter was very long; I should think that it will be published. Mr. Fox returned rather a short and  
laconic

laconic answer—"It is written with sincerity and good meaning," said he.

Mr. Fox said that he had to reproach ——  
—— with nothing but his want of sincerity. He had insinuated, and carefully cultivated in the mind of the King, a suspicion of Mr. Fox, and then produced this aversion of his Majesty, as the cause of his conduct.— Mr. Fox, however, we have reason to believe, was here unjust. It is certain, that the King at one time had a most decided aversion even to the person of Mr. Fox.

Mr. Fox had every paper morning and evening; the Chronicle, of course, was his favourite. I cannot say that he ever wrote any thing in this journal, though I have occasionally read his very words, and frequently thought that I could recognise his stile.

The morning passed away in this manner. Mr. Fox usually walked to Chertsey, and thence to Laleham, across the fields, and  
when

when weary, returned to dinner. There was very seldom any company. The Duke of Bedford was sometimes at table, but most frequently no one but Mr. Fox and Mrs. Armsted. The dinner was invariably very simple, that of a private country gentleman. I do not think that Mr. Fox lived at the expence of seven hundred *per annum*. Wine indeed cost him nothing, as at the earnest request of one of his ardent admirers, a wine merchant, he permitted him to supply his table, and the merchant could never be persuaded to produce his bill.

Mr. Fox enjoyed his tea, by his own confession, more than his breakfast or dinner.— A novel was invariably on his tea-table; sometimes Mrs. Armsted read, sometimes the Duke of Bedford, and sometimes Mr. Fox. I was present when Camilla arrived from London; Mr. Fox was at dinner, and was eager to begin the book immediately; Mrs. Armsted took it from him, laughing, and said that he must be regular, and wait till tea.—

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The books were accordingly given to a servant, and ordered to the tea-room. The wished-for moment arrived, Mrs. Armsted commenced: it was pleasing to see the interest with which Mr. Fox heard this work. He would here and there, however, say, "That's a vile word—that's used in the wrong sense—that's an ungraceful imitation of Dr. Johnson."

In this manner passed away day after day in tranquil retirement. I have reason to believe that Mr. Fox wrote very little, and can almost take upon me to assert, that his history of the Revolution, as it has been called, existed only in idea. Mr. Fox certainly said that no reign was so unsatisfactorily written as that of William the Third. But I do not believe that he ever entertained any intention of writing it himself.

Mr. Fox did not retire to his bed till a very late hour. In summer he walked much in the evening. He bathed daily, plunged at once  
into

into the river, and remained for a very short time. He was an excellent swimmer, and bathing from a schoolboy was his delight.

Mr. Fox had a kind of singular taste for music ; in this alone he was totally without judgment. Old tunes were such as alone pleased him. He said that no Opera was equal to *Inkle and Yarico*. Some one happening to mention the *Beggar's Opera*, he said, certainly, I will except that. The *Beggar's Opera* is the wittiest drama on the stage: the wit is simple, intelligible, and appeals alike to every one.

Mr. Fox said that Mr. Burke had once written a tragedy, and that he had seen two or three speeches. The imagery was in the character of Mr. Burke, splendid and just, but the structure of the versification was heavy, and the diction rather rhetorical than poetical. Mr. Fox asked Mr. Burke whether Garrick had ever seen it? Mr. Burke

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said,

said, "No,—that he had the folly indeed to write it, but the wit to keep it to himself."

The intimate connexion between Mr. Fox and the late Marquis of Lansdown, was only within about two years of the death of that nobleman. The late Marquis then sedulously cultivated the acquaintance of Mr. Fox. Previous to this period, notwithstanding their seeming concurrence, there was something of distance between them. The Marquis had some jealousy of Mr. Fox, and Mr. Fox had certainly not the best opinion of the sincerity of the Marquis. The late Marquis of Lansdown was indeed any thing but an amiable character. Let it be here observed, that we do not speak of him in a moral point of view; but as he was in domestic life. He was a most singular mixture of the courtier and the philosopher: of the dilettanti and statesman. With great pride he was occasionally as familiar, and ostentatiously condescending, as a French *petit maitre*; and at other times he was not to be seen for days together. He was  
alternately



alternately an oracle and a punchinello. He purchased books which he never read, and lived only to execute a design which he never began: he was any thing but a great man. We speak not this to offend, but to correct a prevalent error.

As to Lord Henry Petty, he has nothing of his father but his formality; he has much industry, sufficient gravity, and a clear and solid judgment; but somewhat too much pomposity, elevating little things into importance: he will doubtless improve, as he is not without the principles of excellence. Mr. Fox was much attached to him as a pupil.

Mr. Fox held an opinion of Bonaparte, in which not many will agree with him. I here speak with regret. Mr. Burke, speaking of the French revolution, said that it had not only shaken all Europe, but almost every man individually; that it had shaken Mr. Fox till it had shaken his heart in the wrong place.— Perhaps this was somewhat too severe, but

the best friends of Mr. Fox, without the slightest suspicion of his loyalty, cannot deny that he had this French bias.

Mr. Fox said of Bonaparte, that he was a man as magnificent in his means, as in his ends; that he was a most decided character, and would hold his purpose with more constancy, and through a longer interval, than was imagined; that his views were not directed to this kingdom; that he looked only to the continent. That his commercial enmity was but a temporary measure, and never intended to be acted upon as permanent policy.

It is not, however, within the purpose of these sheets, to enter into any political discussions: suffice it here to say, that Mr. Fox had become passionately attached to peace. If there are some of the readers of these pages who should deem this anxiety to restore the peace of nations to be a shade in his character, we must refer them for his rea-

sons to his parliamentary speeches. It may be remarked here, however, that the natural disposition of Mr. Fox, had probably some part in this pacific propensity.

The peace of Amiens enabled Mr. Fox to visit France, and he eagerly seized the opportunity. His arrival at Paris was notified in the *Moniteur*. Every one hastened to hail the English patriot. On the day after his arrival, he received a note from General Santerre, of which the following is a literal translation:—

*To Mr. Fox.*

“GENERAL Santerre has the honour of expressing the emotion with which he has now learned the arrival of Mr. Fox. General Santerre requests the permission of personally testifying his respect for the patriot of England, and, by example, the benefactor of the human race——.”

Mr.

Mr. Fox, in Paris, was as good a Frenchman as General Santerre. He returned therefore an immediate answer:

*To General Santerre.*

“MR. FOX has the honour of expressing to General Santerre the emotion of satisfaction with which he has learned the esteem of a man such as General Santerre. Mr. Fox flatters himself that General Santerre will pardon his abruptness, if Mr. F. should call at the General’s hotel in the course of the morning.”

Mr. Fox had scarcely received and answered the note of General Santerre, when he received another from Barrere, with expressions of equal esteem, veneration, &c.

This was followed by addresses from all the learned and public bodies, all hailing him by the same term—the benefactor of the human race, and English patriot. It would have been no reasonable subject of surprise, if such  
general

general flattery had even elevated Mr. Fox from his self-recollection ; but Mr. Fox took it all in good part, and valued it at its real worth. He visited every one to whom he was invited, and as he was invited every where, his circle of acquaintance was very extensive. He has since frequently mentioned with much satisfaction the opportunity he thus possessed of seeing and studying many of the most eminent characters of the revolution.

Mr. Fox was received at the French Court with the same distinguishing homage to his genius and patriotism. The First Consul, now Emperor, said in public, that if the then English ministers had been such men as Mr. Fox, England and France might remain at eternal peace, and mutually concur to the happiness of each other. It is not to our present purpose to question this position of His Imperial Majesty. Bonaparte had certainly a very superior esteem for Mr.

Fox,

Fox, and seized with ostentation every opportunity of publicly testifying it.

Mr. Fox had thus an opportunity of acquiring a kind of knowledge which he turned to much advantage upon his return to England, and had he lived longer, the public might have reaped the benefit of his intimacy with the details of the French administration. I can assert it as a fact well known to many gentlemen at that time at Paris, that Mr. Fox was himself concerned in many of the internal arrangements of the French government. He explained to the French ministry the English law of the Liberty of the Press, and assisted them in the formation of the civil code, to adapt it to the circumstances of France at that period.

It was indeed at that period the fashion to talk of Mr. Fox; his dress, his manner of speaking, even his dinners were imitated; and the beaux of Paris exhibited a curious  
contrast

contrast between what they were, and what they endeavoured to appear. It was the fashion to be a thinking man, to think like Fox; the Parisian coxcombs therefore endeavoured to model their faces and features to this character.

Mr. Fox always recalled this period of his life with satisfaction; he used to say that he had learned more of the French character during this short tour, than in his former longer travels: perhaps he not only saw more, and in different points of view, but, possessing a greater maturity of judgment, formed more solid estimates. It is doubtless one thing to travel from puerile curiosity, and another to form the mind.

It was not only amongst Generals and Statesmen that Mr. Fox was received with these flattering distinctions. He attracted every eye at the Opera, and was followed as a spectacle through the streets. His picture was in every window, and no medal-

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lions had so ready a sale as those which bore the head of Mr. Fox. The artists alone felt some discontent that he refused to sit for his portrait. I have heard an anecdote of some humour; that a celebrated statuary sent his respects to Mr. Fox, and begged to inform him that, from his desire to partake of his immortality, he had it in purpose to take a statue from the person of Mr. Fox: he would call on Mr. Fox the following day, when he flattered himself that Mr. Fox would have no objection to sit half an hour in his shirt whilst he took the exact contour of his body.

I must leave Mr. R—— A—— to answer for this anecdote; I repeat it as I have heard it related in the presence of Mr. Fox, who laughed at it heartily.

Madame Recamier was constant in her attentions to Mr. Fox; she called for him one day in her carriage, when Mr. Fox hesitating—"Come," said she, "I must keep my  
promise,



promise, and shew you on the promenade. The people of Paris must always have a spectacle; before you came, I was the fashion; it is a point of honour, therefore, that I should not appear jealous of you. You must attend me, Sir."

Two or three days after this appeared in the *Clef du Cabinet*, an Ode of some wit, but what in England would have given offence to the subjects of it. Mr. Fox and Madame Recamier were Jupiter and Venus. The author, according to the French modesty, standing in the lobby of the Opera, put a copy of his Ode into the hands of Mr. Fox, and another into those of Madame Recamier, whom Mr. Fox was attending. Mr. Fox was confused upon reading the subject; Madame Recamier laughed. "Let them say what they please," said she, "as long as Monsieur Recamier possesses his senses, and laughs at them as I do. This is a first rate writer, and author of the Opera which is to be represented to night; he writes in

Italian almost as well as French; and, as I am informed, has written an English comedy, and sent it by express to the manager of one of your theatres. Paris is not however pleased with him for this last trick; it considers it as a kind of infidelity."

Mr. Fox always entertained the highest opinion of Madame Recamier; he said that she was the only woman in France who united the attractions of pleasure to those of modesty. When her dress was objected to, Mr. Fox said, that it was the fashion in France, and had lost its indecency in its generality.

Mr. Fox entertained an exalted opinion of the talents of Barrere; he said that he reminded him of Mr. ———, that "in his activity by starts, in his general indolence, in his dexterity at shifts, in his alike suiting himself to every party, without attachment to any; a man of honour himself, but without difficulty connecting and adhering to men of

of the most perfect infamy; Barrere was the complete counterpart of Mr. ———, who in the same situation would be found to act in the same manner." Mr. Fox said, that Barrere had more sagacity than any of the French ministers, that his designs were more comprehensive, and his practical means best conceived. Barrere had an equally exalted opinion of Mr. Fox; circumstances of course did not allow the free cultivation of this acquaintance.

Bonaparte had frequent private interviews with Mr. Fox. It will be allowed that these opportunities enabled him to form a just estimate of the character of this celebrated man. Perhaps here was the great value of the services of Mr. Fox, and here was the great point in which the public will most feel his loss. We have before mentioned, that he entertained a very peculiar opinion of Bonaparte; that he said that he had a proud candour, which, in the confidence of his success in whatever he had resolved, scorned

scorned to conceal his designs. "I never saw so little indirectness in any statesman as in the first Consul. He made no secret of his designs."

After seeing what there was to be seen, not the face of the country, but the face of manners, which had arisen, as it were, out of a chaos, Mr. Fox returned to England. In a letter to a Noble Lord, which has passed much from one to another, Mr. Fox wrote his reflections upon French manners at some length. This letter was occasioned by the observation of Lord Fitzwilliam—that the revolution had found them—"A nation of coxcombs, and left them a nation of blackguards; that manners, the civility of man to man, and the chivalrous homage to woman, which softens and gives a picturesque splendour to life, had wholly vanished, and a nation of citizens had replaced a nation of gentlemen." Mr. Fox maintained "that the same gallantry continued to exist, though the foundation was gone; and that the distinction  
of

of ranks, sufficient for the purposes of social order, still remained. That the revolution had doubtless effected much mischief, but the ferment had ceased, and the sediment gone to the bottom, never to re-appear. That the French Government, a century hence, would exhibit a most interesting spectacle: that of a Government not founded on feudal principles." It has been a matter of some surprise to me that this letter has not been published.

We now arrive at another period of Mr. Fox's life, that in which he appeared in strenuous opposition to Mr. Addington. What he said of this gentleman at a large party—(I do not conceive, under these circumstances, that it can be considered as said in private) will not soon be forgotten. "My Lord Salisbury would make a better minister, only that he is wanted for court-dancing-master." When he was asked what Mr. Addington would do after he had made peace? "I cannot say," said he, "but it will be something

something which will render him ridiculous to the end of time. If Mr. Addington wishes for supreme authority, let him be King of Bath, if he has interest enough at the rooms; he will find it more pleasant, and I am persuaded, more to his reputation." This was reported to Lord Sidmouth; I know not with what effect. I remember only that the union of the parties excited much astonishment in me, in common with the whole kingdom.

Mr. Fox understood from the commencement, the motives of Mr. Pitt in the substitution of Mr. Addington. It is not perhaps generally known that H—— M—— had become impatient of the long continuance of the war, and that this concurred with other causes to the decision of Mr. Pitt. Mr. Addington undertook the vacant office—nothing loath. The mediator was singular—the late Archbishop of Canterbury. Mr. Addington certainly had Mr. Pitt's most positive assurance of support. Mr. Pitt at first did nothing for him, and after a short interval, found

found it necessary to act with more decision against him. Mr. Addington was dumb with astonishment.

The state of parties at that time was well known. The —— was not in a condition of health either to speak or act; yet was he made to do both in the formal proposals of the several parties. It was said that the —— had expressed an invincible dislike to Mr. Fox. Mr. Fox spoke of Mr. Pitt's conduct in this transaction with a liveliness of indignation not usual with him.

Mr. Pitt again resumed the place which he conceived to belong to him as a kind of birth-right. Mr. Addington bowed submissively, and passed gracefully into a peerage.

Mr. Fox did justice to Mr. Pitt; he said that he was almost the only man who had ever subdued such great talents under such complete subjection to official formality.

Upon the death of Mr. Pitt, the conduct of Mr. Fox was thought wanting in generosity. It is not my purpose to enter into his vindication. Mr. Fox certainly here acted with his usual candour. He did not pretend to what he did not feel. In his speech in the House he did not withhold his acknowledgment of the undoubted virtues of Mr. Pitt; he allowed him to have been the Minister of the cleanest hands of any that had ever held the helm of State. He applauded his finance—reprobated his wars, and voted to pay his debts. This was something, though perhaps more might have been wished.

We now come to the period of that mortal illness which terminated the career of this illustrious statesman, and that at a point of time when his talents were undoubtedly much wanted.

His disease.—The first seeds of it commenced about the beginning of last winter. In the month of December last, Mr. Fox was on  
a country



a country visit with the Earl of A———. Mr. Fox during this period was very unwell. He found his constitution rapidly giving way. He was able neither to take the same exercise or the same diversions as formerly. He laid aside his habit of early rising, and frequently slept after dinner. His friends observed the change with a presentiment of the consequence. Mr. Fox himself was not blind to this advancing weakness. The seeds of his disease began daily to develope themselves, and Mr. Fox was himself conscious that he would not live long. “ My life has been active beyond my strength, I had almost said my duty. If I have not acted much, you will allow that I have spoken much, and I have felt more than I have either acted or spoken. My constitution has sunk under it. I find myself unequal to the business upon which you have written; it must be left to younger men. I think moreover that it will be a thankless labour. I expect nothing from — —. ’Tis a sword of state, which is borne in procession on solemn days,

but is never allowed to be employed; it is too old and rusty to cut. This is what W—— said at Lord ——'s, and I perfectly agree with him."

I have been permitted to make this extract from a letter now before me. One of the friends of Mr. Fox had applied to him for his concurrence and active support in an affair of some importance, and which has since proved a bone of contention between the different members of the party. It would not be pardonable, to speak more fully upon this subject; suffice it to say, Mr. Fox declined any active support, any leading concurrence in this business, from the state of his health.

Mr. Fox was confined to his bed many days during December, and was once very seriously indisposed, his legs swelled, and he took largely of decoction of the woods, under the impression that he was suffering under the scurvy.

It was peculiar to Mr. Fox, that he had formed in his own mind a kind of philosophic theory of medicine. He referred every thing to two causes, impurity of blood, and the habit of the stomach. He seldom, therefore, consulted a physician; for the most part prescribing to himself, and even mixing his own medicines. Paytherus in Bondstreet was his chemist, and his annual bills for drugs, &c. amounted to a very considerable sum; rhubarb and vegetable decoctions were his favourite medicines. I have heard him however say, that the best purgative in the *Materia Medica* was fruit with thin skins, currants, raspberries, &c.

He had no suspicion that he was dropsical, and perhaps by this error contributed to confirm and aggravate his disease. He entered on a course of medicine, as if for the scurvy; and feeling very early in the period of his complaint an uncommon weakness of stomach, he imputed it to an insufficient

ficient digestion. This erroneous management had certainly very bad effects.

He was in this state when he returned to town early in January. Political affairs.—The situation of his party began to wear an important aspect. Mr. Pitt was declared irrecoverable so early as the beginning of January, and in a consultation about the 10th, it was announced that his death might be daily expected.

The necessary activity of such a time banished from Mr. Fox every sense of his weakness; he exerted himself in a manner which of itself would have ruined his constitution. Once, and once alone, he employed a very remarkable expression; Pitt has died in January,—perhaps I may go off before June. Mr. Fox said this walking up Pall Mall, as he entered the door of Nichols the bookseller. A gentleman who was with him, Mr. T——, said something in reply. Nay, said Mr. Fox again, I begin  
to

to think that my complaint is not unlike Pitt's, my stomach has been long discomposed, I feel my constitution *dissolving*.

It is known to the friends of Mr. Fox, that in the interval of the death of Mr. Pitt, and the appointment of the new ministry, Mr. Fox experienced much vexation and great anxiety.

His health suffered so much under these fatigues, that his appetite sensibly decreased, and his legs alternately swelled, and became reduced. He was insensible to it whilst in action, but was seated but for a short time before he was seized with a sickishness of the stomach: no medicine could relieve him of this most uneasy sensation. He was often compelled to retire from table and recline upon a sofa. He refused to consult the faculty; he endeavoured to impute these alarming symptoms to temporary anxiety, which would pass over with the cause.

This

This state of health continued through the month of March, when the progress became so visible, that, in the language of the turf, his most immediate friends pronounced him breaking fast; Mr. Fox still most unaccountably insisted that his disease was but a temporary habit; a physician, however, was now called in, but perhaps from the unintentional misrepresentations of Mr. Fox himself, his complaint was not as yet understood.

Mr. Fox happened about this time (in May) to recover an interval of strength, an event which confirmed his error.

This, however, continued but a very short time, the symptoms returned with redoubled force, and in the latter end of June he was already declared in a rapid state of certain decay.

His disease, however, was not publicly declared to be the dropsy before the commencement

mencement of the month of July. The symptoms were then no longer doubtful; the lethargy was alarming, the tumors daily increasing. All efforts to enable the vessels to discharge the water by natural process failed; the former weakness of the stomach was the gradual decay of all its powers. It was now generally agreed amongst the attendant physicians, that there was little hope of any favourable termination.

On the 29th of July a consultation was held, when it was generally agreed to try the operation of another powerful medicine, and if it failed of an immediate diuretic effect, that he should be tapped. No alternative remained but this last resource.

The medicine failed, the powers of the absorbent vessels were extinguished, and the physicians resolved upon the immediate execution of the last resource. On the Tuesday and Wednesday previous to the operation, Mr. Fox swelled most alarmingly,

it was wished to defer the operation till Sunday, but it was found impossible. It was accordingly resolved, and the resolution announced to Mr. Fox.

For the seven days previous, Mr. Fox had become persuaded of the necessity of this operation, and entreated that it might be performed. Mr. Cline, by his own desire, explained to him the course of medicine which had been pursued, and their nature and quality. Mr. Fox was satisfied, but requested that if the medicines should fail of their expected effect, as he foretold they would, from the increased weakness of his stomach, they would not delay the tapping, and would inform him previously of the appointed time.

On Thursday, August 7th, the operation was performed; about five gallons were taken from him. The water followed the stab with great violence; it was very fetid and discoloured, and as it were, a mass of blood, which,



which, on being exposed to the air, coagulated within half an hour. The weakness immediately consequent was such as to excite a general alarm that he would not long survive it. He was for a long time speechless, and this at a moment when the newspapers of the day announced "that he was in most excellent spirits, and laughed and talked with Mrs. Fox and several others, after the operation." In spirits indeed!—he was prostrate on the bed, and with scarcely any appearance of life. His eye was half closed, and the light of life as it were extinguished. These were his spirits, and gaiety, and conversation.

On the ninth, tenth, and eleventh, his state continued very dubious; the night of the tenth it was particularly so; but from that period he continued to gain in strength and spirits, though this amendment itself was unfortunately but symptomatic. He now breakfasted with one or two of his more intimate friends by his bedside, and talked

with them as long as his physicians permitted.

It was during one of these morning conversations, that he first expressed his persuasion that his disease would terminate fatally. Lord —— said, that he had made a party for Christmas, in the country, and had taken the liberty to include Mr. Fox in it without his knowledge. But it will be a new scene, Sir, added he, and I think you will approve of it. I shall indeed be in a new scene by Christmas next, said Mr. Fox. “My Lord, what do you think of the state of the soul after death?” Lord ——, (confounded I believe by the unexpected turn which Mr. Fox had given to the conversation) made no reply. Mr. Fox continued— “That it is immortal, I am convinced. The existence of the Deity is a proof that spirit exists; why not therefore the soul of man? and if such an essence as the soul exists, by its nature it may exist for ever. I should  
have

have believed in the immortality of the soul though Christianity had never existed; but how it acts as separated from the body, is beyond my capacity of judgment. This, however, I shall know by next Christmas." Mrs. Fox here took his hand and wept. Mr. Fox was much moved—"I am happy," said he, "full of confidence, I may say of certainty."

Mr. Fox had so far recovered from the operation of the seventh, that he was declared in no immediate danger from the effect of it. This opinion of the physicians was strangely mistaken, as referring to the disease itself, and not to the operation. I can take upon myself to say, that the physicians had by this time given up all hopes of his recovery.

If any such expectations were indulged, they must have vanished the day after this consultation, when Mr. Fox again began to swell. Lord Holland, from his ardent and  
anxious

anxious affection, endeavoured to persuade himself that this swelling was the mere effect of weakness, and the over exercise of the limbs. It had indeed some appearance of it, as it sunk again without any application.

On the 20th, Mr. Fox was in a long lethargy, and the physicians acknowledged their alarm.

On the day following, the return of the water was evident.

On the two following days there was an almost entire stoppage of the urine; the physicians publicly announced that they were unable to restore the action of the stomach, and of course could neither check the accumulation of the water, nor procure any evacuation for it.

On the 25th, they announced to Mr. Fox that another tapping would be necessary.

Mr.

Mr. Fox said, I know that I cannot survive this general dissolution of my constitution. Tell me how long you think I may live ; I do not ask you if my recovery is even possible. Mr. — said, that some instances had occurred. Never at my period of life, and with my constitution, said Mr. Fox. I entreat you to inform me how long you think I can remain in my present state. The physicians here consulted, but were still silent. I will consent to be tapped, said Mr. Fox, but it is upon express condition, that I shall be previously removed to St. Anne's Hill. It is nearest to my heart to breath my last there. —The physicians declared with one voice that this was impossible ; that he was in a state of too much weakness. Mr. Fox was with difficulty tranquillized.

Upon a subsequent consultation, the same day, it was agreed that his wish should be so far complied with, that he should be removed to Chiswick, as part of the way to St. Anne's Hill. The change of air, it was thought,

thought, might operate favourably on his stomach, when discharged of the water which it had again collected. With this purpose the resolution was taken to remove him on the day following, the 27th of August, and to tap him a second time on the following day.

He was accordingly removed to Chiswick; but on the day following, and even the second and third day after his removal, was so weak, that it was judged expedient to defer the operation. This was thought a very unlucky circumstance, as much had been expected from the immediate effect of a change of air, if the water should be immediately discharged for the second time.

He was not therefore tapped till the Sunday, the fourth day after his removal. The effect of this tapping is well known. The substance of the stomach was evidently more injured than before. The water was more fetid and putrid. Mr. Fox was so extremely weak during the operation, that it was  
judged

judged necessary to stop before the water was drawn off. It seemed the general opinion, that if the operation had been continued, he could not have survived it; he recovered some strength on the following day, and received a visit from the Duke of Devonshire, who congratulated him on his amendment. Mr. Fox, however, shook his head with an air of resignation. On the following Wednesday, the operation of the Sunday was finished, the water exhausted, and a new course of medicine tried. On the two following days Mr. Fox was apparently recovering in health and spirits, his urine began to return, and—with the exception of the physicians, who had told Lord Holland, so early as the middle of July, that it was not reasonable to expect any favourable termination—some hopes were indulged in London and Chiswick. I think it necessary however to say, that Mr. Fox himself never encouraged any such hopes upon the return of the water after the first operation. From this period he gradually

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prepared himself for the awful event, and evidently thought of it *most seriously*.

On the Sunday evening, his physicians recognized the symptoms of approaching dissolution. Mr. Fox had entreated them to give him previous notice. The physicians, however, did not consider it their duty to speak as yet. It was notified, however, to Lord Holland, but Mrs. Fox was not informed of it till the following day.

On Monday the symptoms had so augmented, the returning swelling, longer intervals of lethargy, and the langour of the pulse, that after a consultation it was decided to inform Mr. Fox, that he would most probably not survive TWENTY-FOUR HOURS, and that his recovery, or the continuance of his life during *fourteen days* longer, was not within the possibility of things. The communication was accordingly made to him in those words. Mr. Fox replied, "God's will be



be done, I have lived enough, and shall die happy ; he then turned his head on his pillow, closed his eyes for about half a minute, and Lord Holland having entered in the mean time, he opened the palm of his hand as a sign for Lord Holland to give him his hand. Lord Holland took the hand of his uncle, but was unable to repress his tears. My dear, my beloved nephew, said Mr. Fox, much moved. Mrs. Fox, supported by Lady Holland, and Lady E. Forster, the latter however only coming to the door of the apartment, now entered ; every one but the physicians and the family, now left the room ; the scene of distress was past description.

It was to the surprise of every one that Mr. Fox survived the night. Tuesday he continued in the same state, neither amending nor becoming worse. His pulse at intervals, fluttered. Towards the Wednesday morning, it was again announced to Lord Holland, that he could not survive the day. No sleep—restless—lingering—becoming momentarily

more exhausted ; his hands clammy, his feet with the coldness of death ; in a word, dying ! Such was his state on Wednesday, and till about five o'clock on the Thursday morning.

On Thursday the change was surprising, and to those who had not been accustomed to the bed of death, excited the most lively hopes. The clamminess of death had disappeared ! he slept, and appeared easy at intervals ; his pulse became regular ; his speech returned. He was in perfect possession of his senses. General Fitzpatrick was transported with joy, and some indignation was felt at the apparent coldness of the physicians, who, in announcing all these changes, seemed to offer but little value on them.

On Friday, early in the morning, all appearances of amendment vanished. The fatal symptoms of Monday and Wednesday returned, and it was a third time announced to Mr. Fox, that he could not survive many hours. His friends were again permitted to  
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take leave of him; but when they were about to leave the apartment, Mr. Fox waved them back again, and expressed signs of impatience, when the physicians advised them to withdraw. Mr. Fox was able to speak at intervals. Lord Henry Petty approached his bed. Mr. Fox said, this is all in the course of nature. I am happy—Your labour is difficult, do not despair. Mr. Fox would have said more, but Lord Henry Petty, unable to repress his emotions, and by the desire of the physicians, retired to another part of the room. Mrs. Fox was fixed motionless with grief. A sudden burst of tears defeated all her precaution. Mr. Fox who had hold of her hand, looked piteously at her; his back was turned, and he had to raise his head. Do not, do not, said he to Mrs. Fox. He was now evidently much exhausted; the physicians insisted that every one should leave the room, and were obeyed. Mr. Fox fell into a kind of stupor.

In the evening his friends were again admitted.

mitted. Lord Holland and Mrs. Fox seemed almost wholly to occupy the attention of Mr. Fox; he talked to them at intervals, and finding himself exhausted, put Mrs. Fox's hand into that of Lord Holland, and then solemnly imposed, as it were, a silent blessing, by raising his own, and suffering it to fall gently on the united hands of his wife and nephew.

Mr. Fox passed the night restless and alternately in a stupor. In the morning he was evidently approaching nearer to his end. He again solicited by signs and half words the presence of his friends, who were in the apartment, but beyond his view: they approached his bed about noon, he made a sign for the hands of Mrs. Fox and Lord Holland, they were given him, he again united them, and silently blessed them with the same slow descent of his hand as on the preceding day; this he repeated three times. He then endeavoured to turn himself, his back being still towards them, and his head  
only

only bent forwards; he was too weak, however, for this effort. Mrs. Fox and Lord Holland went round to the other side of the bed; it was then he pronounced the last words he was able to speak: God bless you—bless you—and you all. I die happy.—I pity you.

He sunk again into a stupor, recovered about three o'clock, became weaker, looked for a moment *fully* upon all in the room, hung upon the countenances of Lord Holland and Mrs. Fox, closed his eyes, and opened them not again. He expired about 20 minutes before six o'clock by a watch regulated by the sun.

F I N I S.

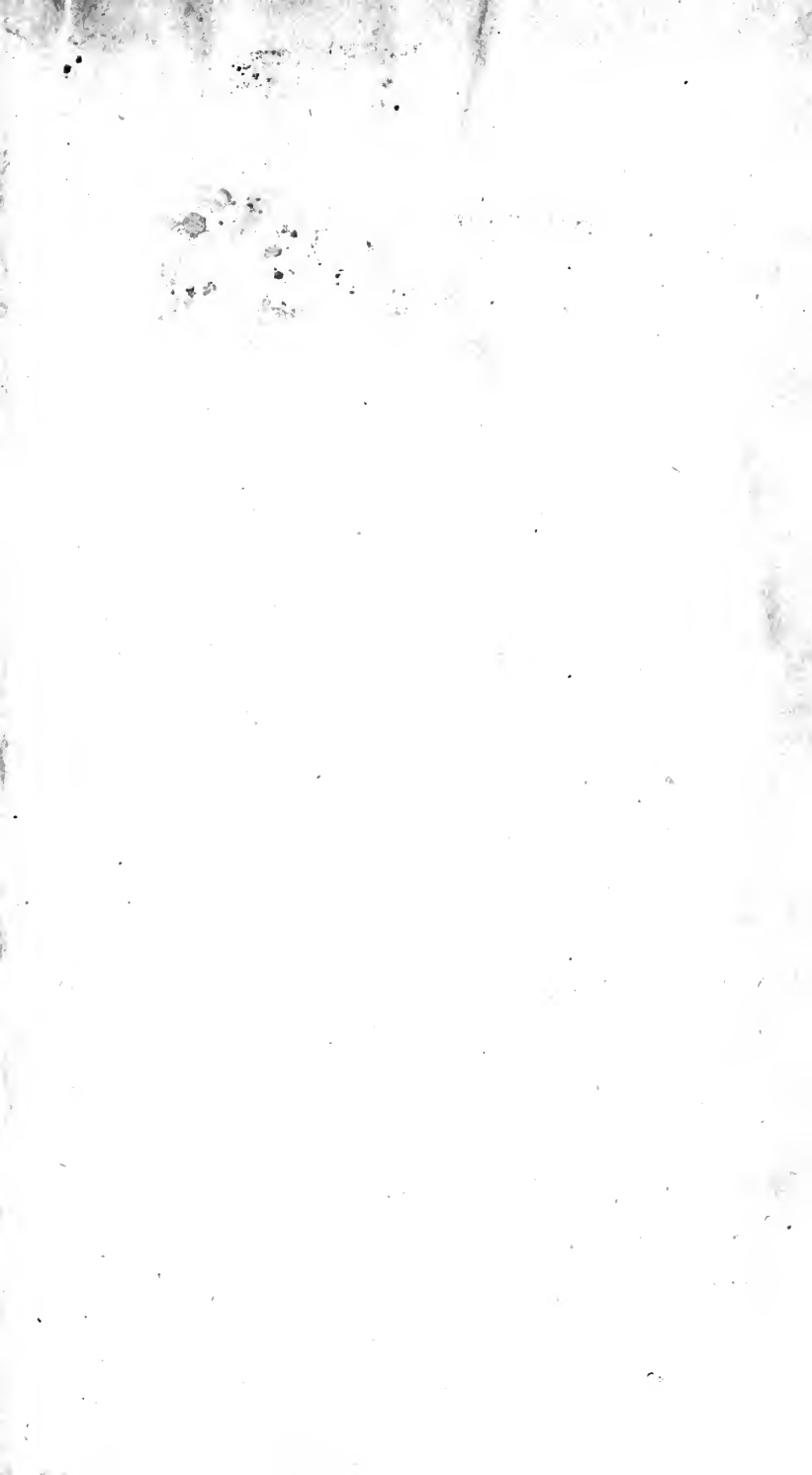












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